

# **FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-106670**

**SUB - A FILE**

**SECTION: 11**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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Martin Luther King Jr.

SUB - A File

100 - 106670

SECTION 11

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## HOW MR. KING CAN EARN —HIS PEACE PRIZE—

The Rev. Martin Luther King and three fellow leaders of the Negro civil rights movement are thinking of going to Nigeria to try their hand at settling the civil war there.

Africa offers a unique opportunity for Mr. King to earn the Nobel peace prize that he was awarded somewhat prematurely, three years ago, for his work toward a racial accommodation in the United States which has proved anything but peaceful. No sooner, indeed, had the four made their announcement than the government of Nigeria's neighbor, Dahomey, was toppled for the fourth time in seven years. This time the victim was Gen. Soglo, a Fon tribesman who had led the three previous coups—one in 1963 and two in 1965—but had antagonized members of the Widji-Widji tribe in the north of the country.

In the last five years, African governments have been overthrown by force no fewer than 22 times, and half of the governments in power on that continent today are hanging on by the skin of their trigger fingers. The United Nations tried its hand at bringing peace to the Congo and retreated in confusion and bankruptcy. The Organization for African Unity two months ago delegated three heads of state to arrange a peace in Nigeria, but so far nothing has been achieved.

So the odds are heavily against Mr. King and his colleagues—Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the Urban league, and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Other obstacles include a law which prohibits Americans as individuals from engaging in diplomatic negotiations with foreign governments and a disenchantment, among many African leaders, with the American civil rights movement. The missionary zeal of Negro peacemakers from the United States, whatever their motives, may sit no better with Africans than the missionary zeal of New England civil rights marchers did with the southerners.

If these difficulties do not deter Mr. King and his team, the experience may be a salubrious one. If they should manage to succeed in bringing about a durable peace, good for them. And if the venture should trickle down to the rest of the world, more

likely at the moment, then Mr. King and Mr. Randolph, who have been particularly outspoken in telling the United States how to manage its foreign affairs, may think twice before pretending that they have all the answers—especially with respect to Africa.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILL.

Date: 12-20-67  
Edition: 3 STAR FIN  
Author:  
Editor: W.D. MAXWELL  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER

Character:  
or 100-35356  
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Submitting Office: CHICAGO

55 JAN 21 1968



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

### WISE NAACP ADVICE

A top official in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People uttered what we think were some wise words Sunday on WHN's radio show "New York Speaks Out." The official was Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant executive director of the NAACP.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, said Dr. Morsell, is asking for bad trouble in his plans to mount a civil disobedience campaign next year in Washington, D.C.

Such a drive, warned the NAACP man, "would be met with as insurrection and put down as such, and that would lead to violence."

Also, it could and very likely would inflame a lot of members of the nation's big white majority against the small Negro minority. In such a bonfire, many of the Negroes' advances in recent years could go up in smoke.

We think U.S. Negroes would be wise to pay more and more heed to their moderate leaders and less and less to firebrands.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

# Black Nationalists May Take Over Civil Rights Movement in Chicago

CHICAGO—More than a year after Martin Luther King's unglorious departure from Chicago, the civil rights movement here is prostrate and in danger of a take-over by violence-prone black nationalists.

That is why white liberals who know the Negro slums of the South and West Sides fear that bottled-up racial hate could explode into Negro violence by next summer or much sooner. The absence of civil rights marches of the kind led by Dr. King in 1966, while reassuring to unsympathetic whites, has left a vacuum. There is now no peaceful escape valve for slum tensions.

Thus, what Chicago faces in the winter of 1967-68 is no different from the prospect for other great cities. With the decline of the biracial civil rights movement, racist black nationalists are climbing to the brink of power.

What makes Chicago different is that this is the only Northern city visited by Martin Luther King, symbol of biracial, nonviolent civil rights techniques, for a prolonged campaign. His utter failure has not only encouraged Negroes, here and elsewhere, to look to the extremists for leadership but has demoralized Chicago's responsible civil rights leaders, leaving them disorganized.



Novak

Evans

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald XXX \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 World Journal Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

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47 JAN 11

Date 12/12/67

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leadership to exploit racial passions. Nor is there assurance that the police tactics of 1967 can work two years in a row.

Although he has come far toward understanding the Negro revolution, Mayor Daley is no John V. Lindsay who could go into the slums to dicker with extremists. Nor is there any likelihood that King would come back here to the scene of his defeat to calm matters. If the convention city of the Democratic Party is to avoid violence next summer, it will need some good old-fashioned luck.

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from that failure. Much-criticized, much-maligned Al Raby, the Negro leader commanding the widest following here, has temporarily abandoned the movement and gone off to graduate school. Civil rights activity is at a standstill.

Replacing it is racial hatred masquerading under the banner of Black Power. One white liberal who has worked with Negroes in every slum of the city told us that for the first time he no longer dares to walk slum streets in broad daylight. Workers of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) are surreptitiously threatening white merchants in the slums, warning them to sell out or, some day, be burned out.

EVEN the altruistic designs of white liberals are backfiring. Some of their organizations set up to foster biracial harmony are turning into engines for racial warfare.

For instance, there are clear signs that the West Side Organization, set up by the Interdenominational Chicago Missionary Society, is now dominated by violence-prone extremists. One South Side chapter of the biracial Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) is about to disaffiliate to keep its racial integrity.

What kept this from boiling over last summer and thus saved Chicago from the agony of other great cities were essentially two factors. First, the local Negro leadership was so divided in the wake of King's departure that not even an extremist could really attract a following. Second, the magnificent work by Chicago's police force in cordoning off neighborhoods any time trouble threatened prevented incidents from mushrooming.

But neither of these factors may be controlling next year. There is dread of the emergence of demagogic

THE tactics of peaceful demonstration that King used so successfully in the South produced almost nothing here. The open housing agreement worked out between King and Mayor Richard J. Daley to end King's 1966 Chicago campaign has meant little to the slum Negro. Unfamiliar with Northern politics, King made no real assault on the key to power: political institutions controlled by Daley.

Indeed, one year later there are few reminders of his presence here. The Rev. James Bevel, King's fiery lieutenant who took up residence on the West Side, is long departed—his elaborate plans to organize the Negro poor almost forgotten. King himself neither visits nor talks about Chicago, scene of his greatest failure.

The local Negro leadership, so weak two years ago that it appealed for King's help, has never recovered

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Resistance, Not Dissent

How sadly have the dignity of nonviolence and the respectability of protest in this country been corrupted!

In Washington, a lieutenant of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. remarked the other day that the safest place to be in Washington this summer may be jail. His statement followed a warning by Dr. King last week that Washington would be tied up by massive demonstrations in favor of civil rights legislation.

Philosophy Professor Sidney Hook, writing in The New York Times Magazine, makes a clear distinction between this kind of protest and democratic dissent. Although Dr. Hook is talking about antiwar activities, the point is the same.

A person who believes in democracy, Professor Hook wrote, does not resort to civil disobedience—deliberate breaking of laws—where methods of due process are available to remedy evils."

If due process is not available, then civil disobedience may be justified in an attempt

to change people's minds. But the protester must be willing to accept the punishment of the laws. This was the essence of nonviolence as it once was practiced.

But, Dr. Hook wrote, when a protester attempts to prevent others, forcibly, from obeying the law or doing their duty—when resistance to law "takes the form of violence or has consequences leading to social chaos . . . he is neither a genuine pacifist nor a democrat."

Those engaged in such violent protest "act more like Storm Troopers or the Communist squads that used to break up Socialist meetings.

"The law is not always wrong," Dr. Hook concluded, "and the voice of conscience is not always right.

" . . . Resistance will make dissent more difficult, and tempt those who are sickened by civil disorder to support extreme measures of repression."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4  
The Atlanta  
Constitution  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 12-12-67

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Editor: Eugene Patterson

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## New Civil Rights Phase

There appears to be a new phase entering the revival services for Civil Rights. ○

Martin Luther King has come up with his latest version of "non-violence," spawned, encouraged and permitted by the Johnson Administration during the past few years.

King's latest headline-designed program is to be conducted under the deceptive title "massive disruption."

These "disruptions" involve marches, demonstrations camp-outs in Washington, preferably within sight of the White House and Congress to practice all forms of blackmail and intimidation.

Uniquely enough this program is designed to begin next summer following an announced campaign of special schooling for leaders in this "disruption."

For some months now King's crowd has fallen into almost oblivion by virtue of the Black Power, hate-whitey mongers.

But with the non-violent angle

still being pushed by King, and the new campaign designation of "massive disruption", obviously hoped to intimidate and instill the fear of additional riots, looting and arson, his followers apparently feel they may gain control of the racist drive again.

King is only once again demonstrating his earlier dedication and training in such public disturbances, having long since used "non-violence" to provoke the basest kind of violence in America's cities.

Because next summer will be the stage for the presidential campaigns, there is no question but what King will find those politicians ready, willing and eager to barter and even, agree to some of his terms.\*

It will be more interesting to note, though, how far the federal government will go this time in the face of public opinion which has definitely expressed itself with revulsion and opposition to such methods.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE ONE

THE JACKSON DAILY NEWS

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: 12/12/67

Edition: Home

Author:

Editor: James M. Ward

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:

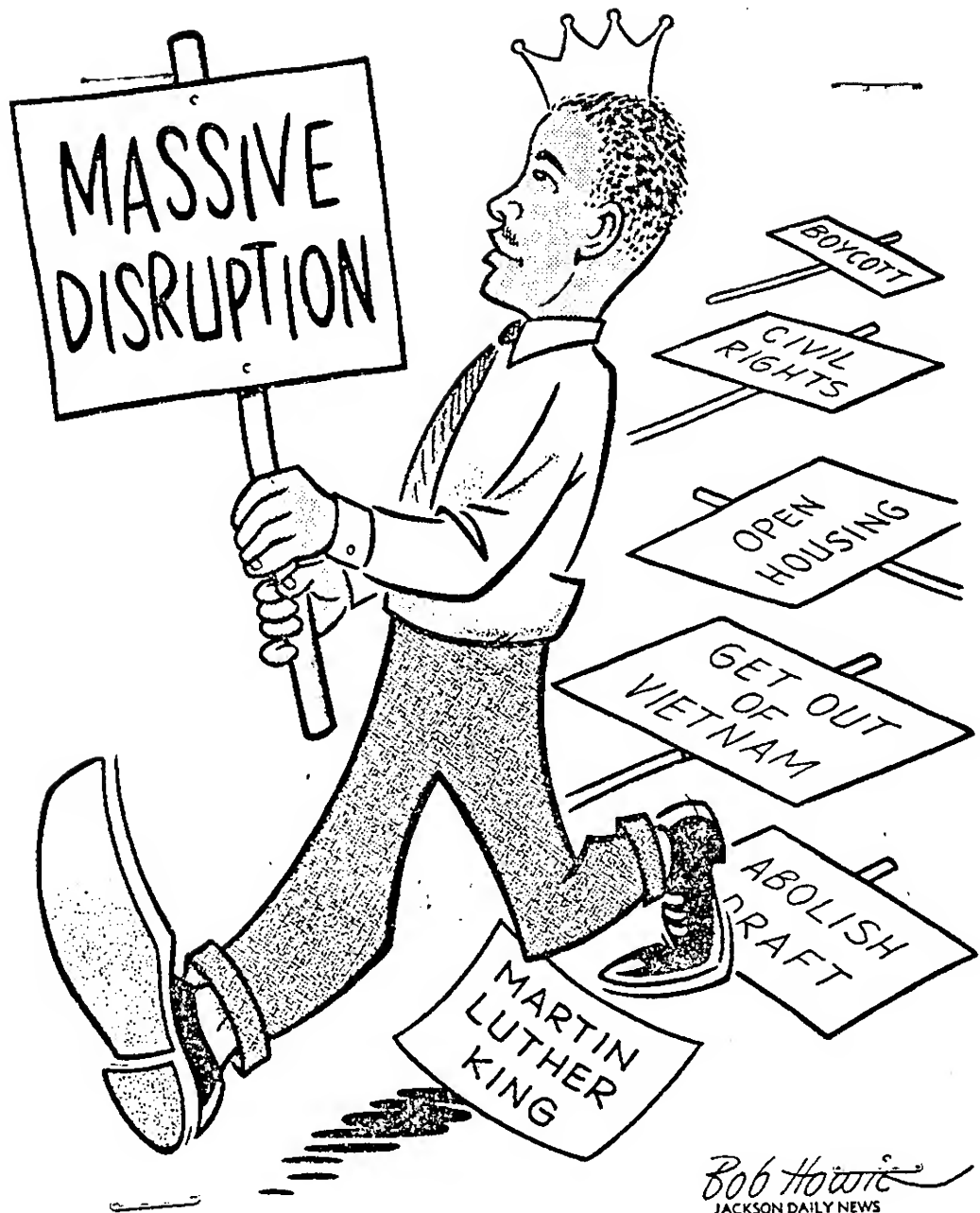
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Classification: 44-0 100-161

Submitting Office: JACKSON

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63 JAN 10 1968



HIS LATEST 'KICK'

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## Dr. King's Charade

Martin Luther King is making a caricature of himself, and a charade of his commitment to social justice and equality for American Negroes.

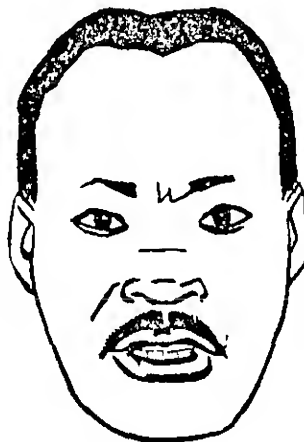
Dr. King says he will take "thousands" of demonstrators to Washington next Spring to disrupt federal activities and force the government to make "moves against poverty." He hinted that the demonstrators would block entrances to government buildings and use other tactics to keep the government from going smoothly about its daily business. It is a "last desperate attempt," he says, to get the nation to respond, and if it fails, "... God only knows what we will face in terms of chaos."

Dr. King calls this nonviolent protest, but it is nothing of the sort. He and his colleagues propose to prevent public employes from going their accustomed way about public buildings on public business. Presumably the worker bent on doing his job would literally have to fight to reach his desk. Dr. King may call it nonviolence, but it is an overt attempt at intimidation by physical force.

Words like "justice," "law" and "equality" mean little or nothing in a society where strong-arm tactics are legitimized. Ultimately in such a society the operative words become "strong" and "weak," and the rule of law begins to give way to the rule of force.

What is it that tempts Dr. King to a fundamental change of tactics and abandonment of some of the principles to which he himself has given so much? He would have the government "move against poverty." He doesn't say how. He doesn't show where the poverty fight needs more money or more people or more wisdom. He doesn't have a law that needs overturning or one that needs passing. He offers neither program nor specific, thoughtful goals. He offers only broadsides to force "a move against poverty."

Democracy is supposed to be a system that allows each citizen to share in his government, but sharing means giving as well as taking. Few would deny that the American Negro has not already given



KING

his due; but hopefully no one would argue that when the minority cannot have every last iota of its own way, it may rightly use force to prevent the majority from having anything else.

This country's democratic government is moving against poverty, neither wisely nor well in many instances, but it is moving. And Martin Luther King could, if he would, speed up that movement, and give it new direction. He says he will recruit 3,000 persons from 10 major cities and five rural areas, and train them as a nucleus for his Spring demonstration. Suppose, instead, he gave them different training, and sent each of them back home with instructions to put 30 poor people — just 30 — in school, in job training, or in citizen political groups

Within months there would be Negroes with new education, new jobs, new political offices, new respect from their fellow citizens, and a new stake in a society that need be only as imperfect as they are content to let it remain. Just that much effort would be far more productive than any amount of bullying in Washington hallways, and far more in keeping with what Martin Luther King professes to believe.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

18-A CHARLOTTE NEWS  
Charlotte, N.C.

Date: 12/8/67  
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Editor: Perry E. Morgan  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER K  
Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: CE  
[ ] Being Investigated

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JAN 9 1968

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## Once And For All

To observe that Martin Luther King Jr. has outdone himself in the area of obfuscatory pronouncements may draw its premise from his announced plans for another series of demonstrations next spring.

At one stroke, King has declared that there is an interrelation between civil disobedience, anti-Vietnam protests, civil rights, poverty, jobs and school boycotts.

If that is oversimplification of King's press conference statements in Atlanta last Monday, then his positions may be examined piecemeal.

Dr. King says that his Southern Christian Leadership Conference-led march on Washington early next year will take "jobs or income for all" as its slogan. And with that formality attended to, then proceed to the real business at hand.

It has been amply established that the ratio of joblessness on a racial basis finds a greater percentage of Negroes idle than whites. It is also a fact that current federal programs aimed at training unskilled persons and finding ways to turn them into self-sustaining citizens spend far greater sums to improve the lot of the Negro than to uplift whites, however effective these programs do or do not prove to be.

It is equally demonstrable that public welfare costs at federal, state and local levels have mounted alarmingly and that Negro welfare recipients outnumber white needy, partly because of long-existing economic imbalance in our society, deficiencies in skills and education and a rising incidence of fatherless families and illegitimacy.

If these are the recognized and existing roots of our economic ills that weigh against the American Negro as a race, how does Dr. King imagine that a series of disruptive sit-ins, sprawl-ins and marches on the Capitol, the White House and government agencies in between will create jobs and income a moment more quickly no matter how broad the need?

Instant Utopia, which King seems determined to demand, simply won't happen. His "massive" march, to which he expects to attract anti-Vietnam groups, is hardly likely to produce the results he says must be realized.

King continues to say that anti-Vietnam sentiment and civil rights are closely linked, a muddle-headed equation he insists upon offering from time to time. He waves the notion that because Negroes fight and some die beside their white countrymen there is something very evil and anti-civil rights about the whole affair. In a breath he demands common opportunity but rejects the principle of common service and obligation.

Finally, through "massive dislocation," he sees the likelihood of planned school boycotts—and here one can only assume a renewal of the earlier tactic of disrupted education—but all of this to be accomplished "without destroying life and property."

Just how does one go about creating "massive," or even mild, dislocation of society without destroying the rights and property of others? King doesn't possess that key and his long series of "non-violent" excursions is ample proof.

There is nothing on the record to show that King has helped create a single job for the idle, raised a single person from the despair of poverty, improved social relations by inspiring disobedience to law, lifted the educational level of even one child by provoking school boycotts, brought the end of the struggle in Vietnam a day closer or encouraged a greater sense of morality in any person.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

10 THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD

BIRMINGHAM, ALAB.

Date: 12-7-67

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Author:

Editor: JOHN W. BLOOMER

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or 100-File

Classification:

Submitting Office: BIRMINGHAM

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123 DEC 18 1967



We do not believe that the temper  
of the country—and hopefully that of  
official Washington—is such that it  
is willing to accept another round of  
ultimatums.

All his words sifted, King's projec-  
tion for 1968 amounts to nothing  
more than a deliberate intent to break  
laws.

Since he has chosen the meeting  
ground, what better place than Wash-  
ington to reaffirm without qualifica-  
tion our intention to exist peacefully  
in a lawful society?

It's just that simple.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Nonviolence, Dr. King?

In his proposal to train a small army of protesters to march on Washington next April to inflict "massive dislocation" on governmental activities, Dr. Martin Luther King gave an ugly, ironical twist to the meaning of the word "nonviolent." The fact is that violence is at the very heart of the plan as he described it—how else can one describe the physical act of blockading governmental offices? Add the

necessary police response to any such effort and the certain result will be mass arrests, broken heads and quite possibly fatalities. That is the "non-violence" Dr. King is offering.

If conditions in the United States are as bad as Dr. King says they are, undisciplined, unprincipled, savage violence in the streets has helped to produce them.

Dr. King must have something more constructive to contribute than agitation toward violence. There are massive chores crying to be done, especially in the area of joining black and white efforts to get urgent programs of education, job placement and housing rolling in the ghettos. These projects call for calm, dogged, constructive efforts. It is disappointing to find the nation's leading civil rights spokesman avoiding any such rational approach.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

12

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Author:

Editor:

Title: ROY M. FISHER  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character:

or 100-35356

Classification:

Submitting Office:

CHICAGO

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62 JAN 10 1968

filed 6/1/68

V. P. Johnson  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Bishop ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
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Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

## 'Disruptive' Demonstrations 52

IN August of 1963 the first large-scale "march on Washington" was staged. There were some before and there have been many since.

But none matched the 1963 performance in degree, in devotion to a principle (equal rights for Negroes) and certainly none has been as well-organized, as orderly or as effective.

That demonstration drew nationwide applause. Perhaps more than any single event it aroused the country to the true proportions of the civil rights issue. It gained respect and support for the civil rights "movement." It was a signal example of Americans exercising their Constitutional right to petition and assembly.

At that rally, on the site of one of the nation's greatest shrines, the Lincoln Memorial, one of the more eloquent addresses was delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King. It was this speech, as much as anything, which rocketed Dr. King to international prominence.

In the course of his remarks, keyed to non-violence but a forceful presentation of his case, Dr. King said:

"In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds."

This was the tenor of the whole demonstration. It was the philosophy of which Dr. King became the reputed champion.

Now Dr. King has announced that maybe around April he will lead a series of "disruptive" demonstrations in Washington. He said his objective will be a "massive dislocation" of the capital — meaning, obviously, the Government. He plans to train 3000 in special tactics for this purpose.

While this project, which he talks of in expansive terms, is based on the needs of the "poor and disinherited," as he describes it, he also aims to tie in the whole "dislocation" with protests against the war in Vietnam.

This is the type of demonstration which can produce a wave of resentment and disgust across the country — as the recent sit-in, stand-in, break-in disorder at the Pentagon illustrated.

If Dr. King wants to revive prejudice and discrimination, if he wants to invite a collapse of public understanding, he is going about it in exactly the right way. The people of this country will stand for orderly petition and persuasion, whatever their other beliefs, but they never will tolerate "massive dislocation."

The Washington Post  
Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News 5  
The Evening Star (Washington)  
The Sunday Star (Washington)  
Daily News (New York)  
Sunday News (New York)  
New York Post  
The New York Times  
The Sun (Baltimore)  
The Worker  
The New Leader  
The Wall Street Journal  
The National Observer  
People's World

Date DEC 7 1967

100-104620

54 JAN 11 1968

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47 JAN 11 1968

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Plans Spring March On Washington for Jobs

By FRANK WELLS

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference "will lead waves of the nation's poor and disinherited" in a march on Washington next spring in a demonstration to "secure at least jobs or income for all," Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said here Monday.

King, president of the SCLC, said that this march would be the "last non-violent approach to give the nation a chance to respond. God only knows what will happen (during the summer) if there is no response."

The civil rights leader said the SCLC would organize a cadre of demonstrators from 10 key cities and five rural areas. He declined to name the cities but said there would be demonstrators from Mississippi and from "many cities where riots took place" last summer.

King said he aimed for 3,000 trained demonstrators as the core for "massive numbers" of marchers. April 1 was set as a probable target date to insure "three solid months of organization" before the march.

In his prepared statement, King alluded twice to the war in Vietnam. When he read the statement, he left out these references, but in questioning after reading the statement he again spoke of the "two wars — the just war on poverty and the unjust war" in Asia.

King said he would welcome peace demonstrators in the anti-poverty march but emphasized that primary concern was for the "nation's poor and disinherited" to "demand redress of their grievances by the U.S. government."

King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent approach to civil rights, emphasized that the march and subsequent demonstrations in Washington and other cities would be non-violent.

"I imagine we will face resistance," he said.

King said the demonstrations would be "consciously designed to create massive dislocation." He would not name specific targets for demonstrators in Washington but did mention "Congress itself" and possibly the White House.

King said he would "call off the demonstrations" if the demonstrations led to violence.

He said he knew that "at this time such a non-violent act is risky."

But, he said, the SCLC would spend three months in training the core personnel in the discipline of non-violence. He said that "the angry and the bitter respond to non-violence if it is militant enough and gets results. We have had violent possibilities in other demonstrations."

"This will be no mere one-day march in Washington, but a trek to the nation's capital by suffering and outraged citizens who will go to stay until some definite and positive action is taken to provide jobs and income for the poor," King said.

King said a failure of the marchers to rouse a "very recalcitrant Congress which is not responding to its constituency" could mean a return to summer rioting.

"Another summer of riots such as we had last summer

may well mean the curtain of doom will fall on American civilization," King said.

King said that various polls and the actions of some political leaders "show that a clear majority in America are asking for the very things which we will demand in Washington."

Dr. King said the march would not be limited to Negroes. "We also look for participation by representatives of the millions of non-Negro poor Indians, Mexican-Americans, Whites, and others."

He also said that the SCLC "will be calling on the swelling masses of young people in this country who are disenchanted with this materialistic society, and asking them to join us in our new Washington movement."

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1  
The Atlanta  
Constitution  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 12-5-67  
Edition: Five Star  
Author: Frank Wells  
Editor: Eugene Patterson  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: ATLANTA  
☒ Being Investigated

100-106670 -  
NOT RECORDED  
145 JAN 10 1968

XEROX  
JAN 9 1968

file 50



PA  
37

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

## A Negro Weekend

It was a fun weekend in New York City. One 25-year-old student, strolling along the West Side, was accosted by three Negro youths. Did he have a cigarette? Sorry, he didn't; so they stabbed him to death. A 75-year-old man was beaten up in his apartment on the East Side, just in case anyone believes that crime in New City is asymmetrical.

And in the Bronx a husband was tied down while a visitor sodomized his wife, then barglarized the apartment, and left, whistling no doubt. The husband, his bonds untied, rushed out with a shotgun and bagged the assailant, subsequently discovered by the police who followed the trail of blood.

A cabdriver, age 32, was killed by three young men. And then a plainclothesman spotted, early in the morning, a 60-year-old man, running hard after an Amazonian lady, wearing only his underpants. She had broken into his apartment, all 175 pounds of her, rifled his wallet of \$8, threatened him with a knife and he was now running after her. The policeman took charge, arrested the lady, and then escorted the gentleman home.

On recent weekend, a building, semi-nude men, clothesman, was, and youths, and boy, not kill, money, City, who, fun to. Not even, sition —, diverse, have a, in a, Avenue.

And he will not return his car to the garage after dark, nowadays, because to do so means that he is exposing a half-black's walk to the Avenue where he must stand and wait a taxi. It is necessary for non-New Yorkers to understand that it isn't safe to walk a halfblock in search of a taxi on the west side of New York.

My friend, who is unprepared to die, has heard a most bizarre report which might have been the inventive work of Robert Louis Stevenson or Conan Doyle, only in this case its provenance is apparently the police. It appears that there is an extremely exclusive club of young Negroes in New York City whose membership is limited to those who have killed a white man. The purpose of the club, it is said to be the preliminary question: "Do you have a cigarette?"

And the rules are that if the member is carrying cigarettes and makes them available, he is spared. If the passerby happens to be a non-smoker:—well, you can't win them all. The FBI turns the whole thing into statistics. In the first six months of this year, compared to the same period during 1966, murder up 26 percent, rape 14 percent, robbery 92 percent, aggravated assault 23 percent, burglary 49 percent, larceny 15 percent, auto theft 23 percent. And all of this, to use the figure of a local commentator, "despite a police force outnumbering a World War II army division."

And the weekend now, a run-down of the previous last summer. Here, the prosecution was vigorous, e.g. in Albany, Cambridge, and Toledo, Ohio. In the exceptions. In Boston during the riots, 7,231 persons

were arrested. Of that number, 100 are now in jail on account of their crimes. A thousand or so will be tried sometime next spring, around maybe June perhaps.

In Boston, after three days of rioting in the Roxbury district, 25 persons were arrested. The total result: five persons fined \$500 each, and three three-month jail sentences. Really, it is easier to go to work a dozen blocks in New York City minding your own business, than to participate in a riot, burning, stealing, and killing.

And finally, we have a report from a man discussing the plans of the Reverend Martin Luther King to organize "civil disobedience" this spring and summer, which King described as "a method of dislocating the functioning of a city without destroying life and property." For instance, there will be "camp-outs" at the Capitol. Permanent camp-outs. "We intend to go there and stay," said King. "I am convinced," he says happily, that "civil disobedience can curtail riots." I am convinced that Martin Luther King belongs behind bars, along with everybody else who conspires to break the law.

It is easy to nag who believe that the "sure" crime is to go. The answer of course is crime is not cured by punishment, but that crime is not by the sequestration of criminals, who ought to be in the corridors of the state rather than the streets of New York. The other point of course is that neither is crime cured by asserting the right of Martin Luther King to decide which laws are dispensable, and which are not. Surely there are others who see the nexus?

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Post  
Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News  
The Evening Star (Washington)  
The Sunday Star (Washington)  
Daily News (New York)  
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New York Post  
The New York Times  
The Sun (Baltimore)  
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People's World  
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128 DEC 12 1967

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Maps Massive Plan for Disobedience at Capital

FROGMORE, S.C. (AP)—Martin Luther King Jr. and 80 of his top lieutenants across the nation are mapping a strategy for a massive civil disobedience program for Washington, D.C., next spring.

The week-long session, closed to the press, concerns civil disobedience moves such as a possible "tent-in" across from the White House and sit-down demonstrations in the offices of congressmen, a King spokesman said.

The demonstrations would continue indefinitely "should Congress fail to enact meaningful reform measures for America's poor," said Tom Offenburger, the King aide.

Offenburger said Sunday in an Atlanta interview that the strategy session also will consider recruitment of a hard-core cadre of 2,000 volunteers from 10 of the nation's cities who would plan the Washington protests.

He said the demonstrations would be nonviolent.

"What we hope to do is to build up pressure for reforms," Offenburger said.

"We think that the present

mood of Congress is not conducive to really meaningful legislative reforms in terms of the poor," Offenburger said. "They're just barely getting the poverty bill out of Congress now, and it's been cut and isn't sufficient."

He said King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, joined by other civil rights groups, will go to Washington in the spring "with specific proposals for the government around the question of jobs and income."

"We're appealing to the federal government for action," Offenburger said. "For example, Dr. King has called for a guaranteed income, and a massive works program to provide jobs. Reforms are needed in the welfare system, and there's the task of rebuilding slums."

Offenburger said demonstrations would take place if legislative action afield to materialize.

King is being joined in Frogmore at the William Penn Community Center by other civil rights leaders with his organization, including the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, the Rev. Andrew Young, the Rev. James Bevel and Hosea Williams.

Offenburger said the Frogmore site, on the coast near Beaufort, was picked because the SCLC has held numerous retreats there.

The sessions, which extend through Friday night, also will discuss stepping up voter registration activities in the South, and training ministers in the cities to be ghetto leaders, Offenburger said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 5-A  
The Atlanta Journal  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 11-27-67

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor: Jack Spalding

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: ATLANTA

☐ Being Investigated

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## Dr. King, Released From Alabama Jail, Plans Soviet Visit

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 3 (UPI)—An aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. disclosed tonight that the civil rights leader was planning a visit to the Soviet Union.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy disclosed Dr. King's plans at a rally following the release of the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from a five-day term in the Jefferson County jail in Birmingham.

Dr. King and three aides served four days of the sentences after the Supreme Court upheld their conviction for contempt of a court injunction against the civil rights demonstrations here. The aides included the Rev. A. D. Rains, King's brother, and Wyatt Tee Walker.

Mr. Abernathy said Dr. King had been invited to the Soviet Union and passports were being prepared. He refused to comment on the source of the invitation or when the trip would be made.

Dr. King renewed his cry for nationwide civil disobedience and intimated that more marches would be made on Washington to obtain Negro rights. The Nobel Peace Prize winner said that until "the Negro's problem is solved there will be no peace or tranquility in America."

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The Washington Post

Times, Herald \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_

The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_

Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_

New York Post \_\_\_\_\_

The New York Times *P35*

The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_

The Worker \_\_\_\_\_

The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_

The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

People's World \_\_\_\_\_

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# IN 'NEAR FUTURE' King proposes march, here to Washington

BY TOM LANKFORD  
News staff writer

A nationwide program of civil disobedience, dramatized as a march from Birmingham to Washington, was proposed Friday night by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his aides. Demonstrators would camp in tents on the lawns of Congress and the White House until the nation "comes to terms with Negroes, King said about 300 Negroes after release from jail.

"They will have to come to terms with us because this nation will not be able to move," he declared. "Until our problems are solved, there will be trouble in the nation." There will be no rest, no tranquility."

KING, WEARING blue denim jeans and showing no signs of a virus he contracted in jail, said the 800-mile "camp in" would be patterned after the 1963 demonstrations in Birmingham.

Negroes "by the thousands" will go to jail, he said, "until brother (Lyndon) Johnson cries: 'It's all over now, boy,'" he said.

King said Negroes could only realize economic concessions and other gains by finding "a method that will disrupt our cities if necessary, create a crisis so the nation will look to our problem, but not destroy life or property.

"I see this as massive civil disobedience," he said.

KING AND THE Revs. Ralph Abernathy and Wyatt T. Walker spoke at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, 1013 25th St. North, and vowed they would return to start the march "in the near future."

The civil rights leaders were released at noon Friday, one day before their five-day sentences for contempt of court were up. Their convictions, upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court, stemmed from a 1963 court-banned march here.

Circuit Judge William C. Barber said he ordered the four released early "because we don't want to work a hardship on anybody." He said King had a virus condition and had served enough time.

"The point of his serving time has been made and that is that when the court issues an order whether for a national figure or the man on the street it should be obeyed," he said.

THE REV. ABERNATHY said the jail cells for the four became a place "to map strategy for the next phase of this revolution."

He said King and his followers are going to start a massive program of civil disobedience across the country.

"We are going to violate every unjust law on the books," he said.

He said King was going to march in Cleveland, Ohio, next week to help get out the vote for a Negro candidate for

mayer. He and King will fly next weekend to London and other European countries, Abernathy added, and may visit Russia.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS  
Birmingham, Alabama

Date: 11-4-67  
Edition: Red Streak  
Author: TOM LANKFORD  
Editor:  
Title: POSSIBLE RACIAL  
VIOLENCE, BIRMINGHAM  
ALA; IMPRISONMENT OF  
Character: REV. MARTIN  
or LUTHER KING, JR.  
Classification: RM, ALA; 2A  
Submitting Office: BIRMINGHAM

[ ] Being Investigated

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47 NOV 23 1967

36 NOV 22 1967

# Dr. King Begins Five-Day Jail Sentence in Alabama

By WALTER RUGAZER

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct.

30—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and three other Negro clergymen were taken into custody on a commercial jet plane today and led off to begin five-day jail sentences for contempt of court.

The arrests, which stemmed from the 1963 clash here between hundreds of Negro demonstrators and an unyielding police force led by Eugene T. (Bull) Connor, wrote an epilogue to one of the nation's most dramatic civil rights confrontations.

Dr. King and seven other Negro leaders were found guilty of violating a court injunction that prohibited demonstrations here. The United States Supreme Court refused recently to review the convictions, which also carried \$50 fines.

Dr. King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was taken with the three other men to the Jefferson County Jail at nearby Bessemer, instead of a lockup atop the courthouse in downtown Birmingham.

The four other Negroes convicted of violating the injunction served their jail sentences here last week.

There was no immediate explanation for the switch, but there were unconfirmed reports that special quarters had been prepared for Dr. King.

Surrendering with him today were the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Atlanta, vice president and treasurer of the leadership conference; the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker

of New York, a former aide; and the Rev. A. G. King of Louisville, Dr. King's brother.

Dr. King, expecting a quick arrest in Birmingham, held a brief news conference at the Atlanta airport. He said he was returning to Birmingham with "mixed emotions."

The 1965 demonstrations, he said, led to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In this sense, he declared, his sentence is "a small price to pay" for that and other accomplishments.

"But I am sad," he added, "that the Supreme Court of our land in a 5-to-4 decision could not uphold the rights of individual citizens in the face of deliberate use of the courts of the State of Alabama as a means of oppression."

"Perhaps these five days will afford all of us an opportunity for a more intense and serious evaluation of our situation, for all the signs of our times indicate that this is a dark hour in the life of America," he said.

The sheriff's deputies, dressed in civilian clothes, flew to Atlanta earlier today and boarded Eastern Air Lines Flight 274. They rode back in the first-class compartment, while Dr. King sat far behind them in the tourist section.

As the plane taxied toward the gate here, the officers got up and moved toward the rear. They waited while the regular passengers fought their way good naturedly through an aisle clogged with reporters and cameramen.

## 5 Armed Officers

Then, as Dr. King and his three companions followed, the deputies handed each of them an arrest order. Dr. King walked out, through a light rain, calling for his suitcase. Someone handed it to him.

The sheriff's deputies gripped him by the elbows as they walked toward an unmarked black Chrysler near the plane. Five uniformed officers stood by with riot guns. There was no demonstration.

Dr. King came dressed in his old "jail uniform"—blue jeans, denim shirt, and brown sweater. He carried three books: a Bible, "The New Industrial State" and "The Confessions of Nat Turner."

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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ 1965



Associated Press Wirephoto

**BEFORE ARREST:** On way to plane in Atlanta, ~~four~~ clergymen are, from left: A. D. King, Ralph D. Abernathy, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Wyatt Tee Walker. They flew to Birmingham to serve five-day jail sentences.

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## Dr. King Goes to Jail <sup>A2</sup> For Contempt of Court

Reuters

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 30 —The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was arrested here today as he left an airliner and was hustled off to jail in nearby Bessemer.

He came here from Atlanta to serve a five-day jail term imposed for leading a court-enjoined civil rights demonstration in Birmingham in 1963. The contempt of court sentence recently was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Two sheriff's deputies who boarded the plane with King in Atlanta arrested him and three other ministers as they prepared to leave the airliner.

A law officer said the civil rights leaders were taken to the Bessemer jail because a crowd of about 100 demonstrators had gathered at the Bir-

mingham prison. Day and night visits were planned there while Dr. King served his term.

In Atlanta more than 50 supporters stood beneath the wings of Dr. King's jet singing the civil rights protest song "We Shall Overcome" as he boarded the plane.

[About 450 Negroes marched on the Birmingham jail to protest Dr. King's arrest and vowed they would march 18 miles to the Bessemer jail Tuesday to stand vigil, United Press International reported.]

With Dr. King today were his brother, Rev. A. D. King of Louisville, Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Atlanta and Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of New York. Four other leaders have served their time and paid \$50 fines.

The Washington Post

Times Herald <sup>A2</sup>

The Washington Daily News

The Evening Star (Washington)

The Sunday Star (Washington)

Daily News (New York)

Sunday News (New York)

New York Post

The New York Times

The Sun (Baltimore)

The Worker

The New Leader

The Wall Street Journal

The National Observer

People's World

Date **OCT 31 1967**

TOP CLIPPING

DATED **10-31-67**

FROM **Wash. Post, Nov. 5, 1967**

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

**62 NOV 13 1967**

**NOT RECORDED**

**128 NOV 9 1967**

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## Dr. King Keeps Date With Alabama Jail

Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 30 (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., wearing baggy dungarees on a tourist flight to this city, was arrested and led off to jail today by two detectives who emerged from the first-class compartment of the plane.

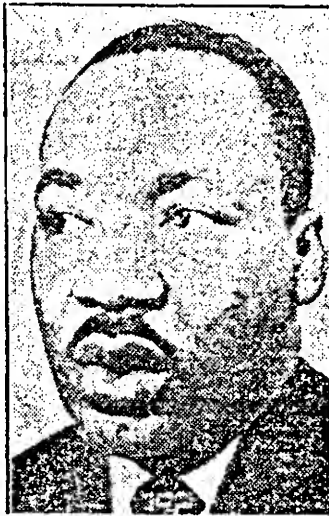
King, who is to serve a five-day jail sentence he regards as a "small price to pay," was silent as he was handed arrest papers aboard the plane moments after it touched down in Birmingham following a brief flight from Atlanta.

### No Demonstration

The plainclothes policemen went to the tourist section where King and three other civil rights leaders sat and waited for the plane to taxi to a stop.

As other passengers left the plane, arrest papers were handed to King and his three companions. The four were then led to an unmarked police car.

There was no demonstration by civil rights groups at the airport where five Jefferson county deputies wearing helmets and carrying shotguns stood by.



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.  
 "A small price to pay"

*P.C. Moore*  
*T. R. Brown*  
*D. A. Finner*

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's *OCT 31 1967*

TOP CLIPPING

DATED *10-31-67*FROM *Washington Post Service*

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BY HENRY P. LEIFERMAN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. (UPI)--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., JAILED IN A TOWN DESCRIBED AS A KU KLUX KLAN "STRONGHOLD," SPENT A "VERY COMFORTABLE" FIRST NIGHT IN CONFINEMENT, SOURCES SAID EARLY TODAY. KING'S FOLLOWERS THREATENED MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS UNLESS HE IS TRANSFERRED TO A "SAFER" JAIL, BUT NO INCIDENTS MARKED THE FIRST NIGHT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER'S FIVE-DAY JAIL SENTENCE FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT.

A SOURCE AT THE JAIL SAID KING COMMENTED ON HOW COMFORTABLE HE AND THREE OTHER PRISONERS IN HIS CELL WERE DURING MONDAY NIGHT. THEY WERE FED WHAT THE SOURCE DESCRIBED ONLY AS A "STANDARD" JAILHOUSE BREAKFAST WHEN THEY AWOKE TODAY.

ONE OF KING'S AIDES CHARGED EARLIER TODAY THAT THE BESSEMER JAIL WHERE KING IS BEING HELD IS UNSAFE, AND HE DEMANDED THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER BE TRANSFERRED TO THE COUNTY'S MAIN JAIL IN DOWNTOWN BIRMINGHAM.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



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UPI-133

(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WEARING BAGGY DUNGAREES HE SAID WERE SUITABLE FOR THE SURROUNDINGS, LEFT TODAY FOR BIRMINGHAM TO BEGIN A FIVE-DAY JAIL SENTENCE HE REGARDED "A SMALL PRICE TO PAY."

KING, EXPECTING HIS ARREST AT THE BIRMINGHAM AIRPORT ABOUT A HALF-FOUR LATER, TOLD NEWSMEN IN ATLANTA HE HAD MIXED FEELINGS AT THE PROSPECT OF IMPRISONMENT FOR HIS CONTEMPT OF COURT CONVICTION ARISING OUT OF BLOODY DEMONSTRATIONS IN BIRMINGHAM IN 1963.

HE SAID THE DEMONSTRATIONS LED TO ENACTMENT OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT, AND THEREFORE HIS JAILING FOR TAKING PART "IS A SMALL PRICE TO PAY FOR THE UNITY WHICH CAME TO OUR NATION." BUT, HE SAID, "I AM SAD THAT THE SUPREME COURT OF OUR LAND..." UPHELD HIS CONVICTION.

WITH KING AT THE ATLANTA AIRPORT WERE HIS WIFE, AND THREE OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS OFFICIALS WHO PLANNED TO SERVE SIMILAR JAIL SENTENCES--KING'S BROTHER, REV. A.D. KING, AND THE REVS. RALPH ABERNATHY AND WYATT T. WALKER. THE OTHER MEN WERE DRESSED IN BUSINESS SUITS, WHILE KING WORE DUNGAREES BOLED AT THE CUFFS, AN OPEN-COLLARED BLUE DENIM SHIRT AND A TAN CARDIGAN.

KING'S JAILING WAS EXPECTED TO TOUCH OFF NEW DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE ALABAMA CITY WHERE FOUR YEARS AGO POLICE COMMISSIONER EUGENE "BULL" CONNOR ORDERED FIRE HOSES, DOGS AND CLUBS USED ON DEMONSTRATORS--AN ACT WHICH KING SAID ROUSED SENTIMENT FOR PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

EARLY MONDAY, ABOUT 150 NEGROES MARCHED IN SMALL GROUPS ALONG STREETS EN ROUTE TO THE JAIL. SOME CARRIED SIGNS WHICH SAID: "THEY MARCHED FOR US IN 1963--LET US MARCH FOR THEM IN 1967."

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UPI-159

ADD KING, BIRMINGHAM (UPI-149)

LATER, KING WAS MUSTLED OFF TO A BRANCH JAIL 12 MILES AWAY TO BEGIN HIS FIVE-DAY SENTENCE.

SHERIFF MEL BAILEY SAID KING WAS TAKEN TO THE SMALLER JAIL FOR "THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE SURRENDERING ON THE COURT ORDER." HE TOLD NEWSMEN GATHERED AT THE MAIN JAILHOUSE, "I HOPE YOU CAN SEE FROM THE ACCUMULATION OF PEOPLE THAT WE HAD TO DO THIS."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



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UPI-149

(KING)

BIRMINGHAM--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WEARING BAGGY DUNGAREES ON A TOURIST FLIGHT TO THIS CITY, WAS ARRESTED AND LED OFF TO JAIL TODAY BY TWO DETECTIVES WHO EMERGED FROM THE FIRST-CLASS COMPARTMENT OF HIS PLANE.

KING, FACING A FIVE-DAY JAIL SENTENCE HE REGARDS AS A "SMALL PRICE TO PAY," WAS SILENT AS HE WAS HANDED ARREST PAPERS ABOARD THE PLANE JUST MOMENTS AFTER IT TOUCHED DOWN IN BIRMINGHAM FOLLOWING A BRIEF FLIGHT FROM ATLANTA.

THE PLAINCLOTHES POLICEMEN WHO MADE THE ARREST LEFT THEIR SEATS IN THE FRONT CABIN OF THE PLANE, WENT TO THE TOURIST SECTION WHERE KING AND THREE OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS SAT AND WAITED FOR THE PLANE TO TAXI TO A STOP.

AS OTHER PASSENGERS LEFT THE PLANE, ARREST PAPERS WERE HANDED TO KING AND HIS THREE COMPANIONS. THE FOUR WERE THEN LED TO AN UNMARKED POLICE CAR WAITING 10 FEET AWAY FROM THE PLANE.

THERE WAS NO DEMONSTRATION BY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS AT THE AIRPORT, WHERE FIVE JEFFERSON COUNTY DEPUTIES WEARING HELMETS AND CARRYING SHOTGUNS STOOD BY.

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KING 10/30 AJ

INSERT 3RD NIGHT LD KING 240A AFTER 2ND PGH XXX BESSEMER, ALA.  
 ABOUT 450 NEGROES MARCHED ON THE BIRMINGHAM JAIL MONDAY NIGHT  
 TO PROTEST KING'S ARREST AND VOWED THEY WOULD MARCH 18 MILES TO THE  
 BESSEMER JAIL TUESDAY TO STAND VIGIL.

"WE'RE GOING TO DO THE SAME THING TO BESSEMER TOMORROW IF HE IS  
 NOT TRANSFERRED," SAID THE REV. ANDY YOUNG, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF  
 KING'S SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

YOUNG LED A LONG LINE OF NEGROES, HUDDLED TWO BY TWO IN A LIGHT  
 RAIN, IN A 10-BLOCK PROTEST MARCH MONDAY NIGHT FROM A CHURCH IN THE  
 NEGRO SECTION TO THE MAIN COUNTY JAIL.

THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS DURING THE MARCH BUT YOUNG PROTESTED THAT  
 POLICE PROTECTION WAS NOT HEAVY ENOUGH. THE MARCHERS HAD TO OBSERVE  
 TRAFFIC LIGHTS IN THE DOWNTOWN SECTION AND THE LONG LINE WAS INTERRUPTED  
 BY RED LIGHTS SEVERAL TIMES.

"THE ONLY REASON WE'RE NONVIOLENT IS BECAUSE MARTIN LUTHER KING  
 TAUGHT US TO BE," SAID YOUNG, WARNING A POLICE OFFICER "WE'LL FILL  
 YOUR JAILS" IF POLICE PROTECTION IS NOT INCREASED.

YOUNG SAID DETAILS OF THE TUESDAY MARCH WOULD BE ANNOUNCED LATER.

PICKUP 3RD PGH 240A: KING, WHO

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## King's Hammer

There is no reason to question the sincerity of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King in proposing a massive and disruptive demonstration to prod Congress into enacting programs for the poor. There is, however, considerable reason to question his timing, his tactics and his target.

Following so close on the heels of the degrading and pointless siege of the Pentagon, King's statement that "the time has come to camp here in Washington and stay here by the thousands and thousands" will not be greeted by many cheers from Washington throats. The most favorable local reaction must be a sigh of weary resignation. And the most probable national reaction is the suspicion that King was, in part at least, motivated in his call for action by the garish headlines of the past week.

As for his tactics, King noted that he is unable to find much will in Congress to go along with his formula of spending \$20 billion a year for the next decade or two. The way to build congressional enthusiasm, he suggests, apparently in all seriousness, is to stage a colossal display of civil disobedience.

King should know better. He should know that Congress cannot be bullied and coerced into action on a measure calling for the expenditure of \$200 to \$400 billion. Congress is not in need

of a moral hot foot. It needs a carefully drawn plan on which to proceed. And it needs assurance—more than can be provided by the unformulated enthusiasms of any civil rights leader—that the vast sums of money under discussion will in fact achieve a major victory over poverty.

Finally, there is the question of the target.

King's argument, obviously, is with the 533 members of Congress. But the target he has selected for punishment is the population of the District of Columbia. It should not be necessary to point out to him that, of all the citizens of the United States, the 800,000 Washingtonians are the least accountable for the actions of Congress, since no one speaks for them yet in either the House or the Senate. And yet, in King's words, if his plan succeeds, "the city will not function."

If King's plan goes beyond the talking stage, the members of Congress may notice some slight inconvenience in the daily routine — and if the going gets rough enough, they may find it necessary to return to their home states for some political fence-mending. Meanwhile, the people of Washington, caught between the hammer of King's ambition and the anvil of congressional resistance, will take the beating.

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### King's Camp-In p. 20

It is to be hoped that Dr. Martin Luther King will, on reflection, change his mind about his vague proposal for a massive "camp-in" in Washington to disrupt the Government and compel Congress to act on some programs he wishes to have passed.

A demonstration aimed at the mind and conscience of the country and which incidentally discommodes the operations of Government is one thing. A massive invasion and sit-down that is deliberately contrived and intended to cause the suspension of Government operations is something else. Any real democracy should put up with the inconvenience of the former; and any ordinary government must resist the latter. The first situation constitutes a request that the Government listen to a minority; the second represents a demand that the Government comply with and respond to the dictates of a minority alone. The first is a resort to democracy; the second an appeal to anarchy.

The citizens who have a dissent to voice or a complaint to make have a right to articulate grievances through assembly, demonstration and petition. But they have no right to demand that Government suspend operations until it yields to their importunate demands. The people who take to the streets should be heard; but they should not be heard to the exclusion of the millions of citizens who do not join the mob in the streets. Those who conjure up mobs to force the suspension of Government itself are talking about revolution—even if they call it "passive resistance" or "civil disobedience."

Congress may have its faults, but Dr. King has good reason to know that its members are not so pusillanimous that they can be intimidated into action. To attempt that sort of intimidation is to invite, instead, a reaction even from those broadly sympathetic to Dr. King's larger purposes.

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**57 NOV 3 1967**

*Feb 1 1968*

# King Sees a 'Camp-In' Unless Congress Acts

By Jean M. White  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said yesterday that the time may come for staging a massive "camp-in" to disrupt the Nation's capital if Congress doesn't act soon on programs for the poor.

Dr. King spoke to newsmen after testifying before an executive session of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The civil rights leader—a moderate who has preached and practiced the philosophy of non-violence—yesterday spoke of the need for "escalating non-violence to the level of civil disobedience."

"We are certainly going to have to do something," Dr. King said, observing that he doesn't see any "will" in Congress to do much.

He said he told the Commission members that a \$20-billion-a-year program is needed over the next decade. This, he said, would cover a guaranteed annual income, guaranteed jobs, slum eradication, and school improvement with a \$1000-a-year expenditure per pupil in slum ghettos.

To prod Congress, Dr. King said, more than "one-day" demonstrations may be needed.

"... Just camp here and stay here by the thousands and thousands... and make it clear that the city will not function," Dr. King said.

The civil rights movement, Dr. King added, has a responsibility to "pressure" Congress so that it can "no longer elude our demands."

If it was a much more militant King who spoke yesterday, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference still cautioned against violence. This he described as "uncivil disobedience."

His definition of civil disobedience was this: to stand in the midst of an unjust law and system and be "non-violent open defiance." He located the "functions" of the community until it recognizes a crisis.

In talking about the summer's big-city riots, Dr. King stressed the need to find an alternate channel for the "legitimate and understandable rage" of the Negro community.

"We have to find a middle road between riots and timid supplication," he told reporters.

Dr. King, who didn't join in the weekend peace demonstration in Washington, said a tight schedule and physical strain kept him away. But he said he thought the demonstration served as an appeal to the conscience of the American people.

"It is now palpably clear the United States does not have a consensus (in support of the Vietnam war) either in this country or the world," he added.

He mentioned last night, at a benefit for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that he has been criticized "continually" for speaking out on the war.

"Before I was a civil rights leader, I was a preacher of the gospel," Dr. King said, "and on this futile, evil, unjust and blasphemous war a man of conscience cannot do anything but speak up."

Another witness before the President's riot commission yesterday was Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty. He called for Federal grants to help create new industry in the ghetto hearts of the cities and bring jobs to the poor.

Yesterday the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights attacked a bill being considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee as a substitute to a House-passed measure on civil rights protection.

The Conference said the substitute, proposed by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) is not only much weaker as a civil rights bill but also is anti-labor. Ervin wrote in two labor amendments, one that the Conference says would encourage strike breaking.

The other would overrule a Supreme Court decision and forbid unions to discipline members who don't participate in a strike.

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) plans to offer a substitute for the Ervin bill on Wednesday.

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Associated Press

**RIGHTS TALK**—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., chats with Roy Wilkins, right, executive secretary of NAACP, when he

arrived yesterday to testify before National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. At left is Rep. James Corman (D-Calif.).

## Dr. King Asks Poverty Fund Protest Here

By the Associated Press

Dr. Martin Luther King has called for a prolonged, city-paralyzing demonstration here to prod Congress into adopting a \$20-billion-a-year program to rid the nation of poverty.

The Atlanta civil rights leader said \$20 billion a year for the next 20 years is necessary to eradicate slums, increase the education of the disadvantaged and to guarantee jobs for those who want them.

"The time has come to camp here in Washington and stay here by the thousands and thousands until the federal government and the Congress will do something about the problems," King told reporters.

"We have to make it clear that the city will not function. We're going to have to have an act of civil disobedience to get this."

King made his remarks to reporters after testifying before a closed session of the President's Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which is studying the cause of riots in the nation's cities last summer.

He said he made his money proposal to the commission but was unable to gauge the members' reaction.

King said a massive demonstration is necessary because "I don't see the will in Congress to act at this time."

"As long as our heart is in Vietnam, we will not have a big domestic program," he said.

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UPI-148

(CAMP-IN)

WASHINGTON--REP. PAUL ROGERS, D-FLA., TODAY CALLED A PROPOSAL BY THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING FOR A PROLONGED CAPITOL "CAMP IN" WITH MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AN "INSULT" TO CONGRESS.

KING MADE THE PROPOSAL DURING A CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDER. KING CALLED FOR THE DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS IN CONGRESS.

"I THINK THIS CITY AND THIS NATION HAS SEEN ENOUGH OF THESE DEMONSTRATIONS," ROGERS SAID IN A HOUSE SPEECH. "I CONSIDER IT AN INSULT TO THE CONGRESS THAT ANY MAN WOULD THINK THE CONGRESS CAN BE INTIMIDATED BY SUCH THREATS."

REP. WILLIAM C. CRAMER, R-FLA., IN ANOTHER HOUSE SPEECH URGED CONGRESSIONAL ENACTMENT OF HIS ANTI-RIOT BILL "BEFORE THE ORGANIZERS OF ANARCHY HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE TO INVADE WASHINGTON OR ANY OTHER SEAT OF GOVERNMENT."

CRAMER'S BILL, WHICH HAS BEEN PASSED BY THE HOUSE, IS NOW IN THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE. IT WOULD MAKE IT A FEDERAL CRIME TO MOVE ACROSS STATE LINES TO INSTIGATE LAWLESSNESS.

IT IS THE DUTY OF CONGRESS TO PASS STIFF ANTI-RIOT, ANTI-CIVIL DISTURBANCE LEGISLATION IS THIS MOST NOBLE EXPERIMENT OF MAN'S GOVERNING OF HIMSELF, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IS TO BE PRESERVED," CRAMER SAID.

"INTENTIONAL, PLANNED AND MASSIVE DISRUPTION OF THE OPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS ANARCHY," HE SAID. "THOSE WHO ORGANIZE SUCH MASSIVE DISOBEDIENCE TO LAW AND ORDER SHOULD BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT SUCH ACTION WILL BE PUNISHED."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-84

(VIET)

WASHINGTON - THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID FRIDAY THAT THE U.S. WOULD WELCOME NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS IF THEY STOP HERE IN CONNECTION WITH A MISSION TO HANOI.

THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE NOBEL LAUREATES TO TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM, SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE U.S. IN THEIR QUEST FOR PEACE.

STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID THAT FOR THE MOMENT AMERICAN PEACE PRIZE WINNER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING HAD NOT APPLIED FOR VALIDATION OF HIS PASSPORT TO GO WITH SUCH A GROUP. OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT SUCH A DECISION MIGHT HAVE TO BE DECIDED AT A HIGH LEVEL WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

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59 SEP 26 1967

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

## Allen-Scott Report

# FBI's Report On King Ready

By ROBERT S. ALLEN  
and PAUL SCOTT



Mr. Allen

WASHINGTON — Powerful leaders in Congress are rolling up their big guns for their coming confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King.

Their Big Bertha — the contents of the FBI's file on King — has been examined and readied for firing by a House Appropriations subcommittee headed by Representative John J. Rooney, D - N. Y., a strong civil rights advocate.

Subcommittee members are now discussing with House leaders how and when this untold part of the intriguing King story should be released to the American people. This story includes details of those directing and influencing his activities.

These legislators are taking the position that King's public declaration of war on Congress leaves members no other course than to throw the spotlight on some unpublicized aspects of the militant civil rights leader's life — known only to a few high officials and a handful of FBI agents.

The subcommittee members have told the House leaders, who are King's main targets, that the FBI has unimpeachable evidence including photographs showing that King is now listening to a man who is clearly more interested in destroying the U.S. than in the plight of either the Negro or the war-weary people of Vietnam.

According to these legislators, the FBI has carefully documented that this adviser of King has been one of the Communist Party's biggest money raisers in this country.

The confidential FBI file, they report, cites instances of material this adviser has prepared for King's vicious attacks on Congress and the U. S. in general. The adviser is credited with drafting King's statements describing Congress as "wild with racism" and describing the U. S. as the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

As reported in this column August 4, eleven days before King revealed his new strategy in his headline-making attack on Congress in Atlanta, the Nobel Prize winner is planning to lead massive demonstrations and "sit ins" here this fall.

The attacks against Congress are part of King's over-all campaign to establish a political "third force" by 1968 composed of militant civil rights, peace, student, and labor groups.

Significantly, the Rev. James Bevel, another King lieutenant, organizing his civil disobedience campaign for Washington, is described in the FBI file as King's link with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The officials of this militant group are now urging Negroes to follow the path of violent revolution in the U.S.

King, who preaches non-violence, continues to confer with these SNCC officials whenever Bevel sets up the meetings, according to the FBI files. It also quotes King as telling a group of left-wing students, "We don't need to talk mean, we need to act mean."

Aides of Senator John McClellan, D - Ark., whose Permanent Investigating Subcommittee plans a full-scale probe of recent race riots' reports that the inquiry will go into King's activities. Several ex-FBI agents, familiar with the background of King and also of the officials of SNCC, will be employed by the committee.

With these and other bombshells fused to ignite, sensational leaders are privately predicting the "Second Coming" of King, as his Washington disobedience campaign is being called, could be a nasty, violent affair.

The legislators also believe the fireworks could explode a lot of myths about King.

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Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
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"Northern Virginia Sun"  
Arlington, Virginia  
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54 AUG 31 1967

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY A10

## The Latest Proposals of King

Now Dr. Martin Luther King proposes massive "dislocations." Not violent dislocations, understand. Just "massive civil disobedience," like blocking plant gates, highways, government operations, sit-ins in federal buildings, that kind of thing. But, repeat, not violent. The man reporting to work at his factory is not expected to press his way through King's human wall, nor the wife driving her car to pick up her child at school, to trample the toes of the satyagrahi. No violence, just a national convulsion.

Actually, King can't bring it off. He has lost much of his following, and increasingly he emerges as the Harold Stassen of the civil rights movement. "Last summer in Chicago," Andrew Kopkind remarks in a review (New York Review of Books) of King's recent book, "Where Do We Go From Here?" "he was booed at a mass meeting, and later, as he lay in bed unsleeping, he understood why."

Why? Because the dream that he kept preaching had not come. The Freedom Now that he sang from coast to coast had not been realized. "The Movement," Kopkind observes, "is dead: the Revolution is unborn. The streets are bloody and ablaze, but it is difficult to see why, and impossible to know for what end. . . . If it is any comfort, liberalism proves hardly more effective than fascism."

The civil rights movement as such is of course transformed. The realization has dawned that all those legislative enactments calculated to produce equality before the law were not enough to rectify the heavenly kingdom. Indeed and perversely, it sometimes seemed as if the greater the

effort to integrate, to dispense welfare, the less that was accomplished.

"Jerome Cavanaugh of Detroit," Kopkind continues, "is the most 'progressive' mayor in the country; his battleground is bloodier than Sam Yorty's was. At least we know now that even if all Martin Luther King's programs were enacted, and all Jerome Cavanaugh's reforms were adopted, and the Great Society as it is described materialized before our very eyes, there would still be the guerrillas."

Understand, Kopkind is of the school that cannot bring itself to criticize the guerrillas. The dissatisfaction with King is that he does not recognize the essential cynicism of the American system. Kopkind's frame of reference in contemporary affairs is best suggested by his reference to the Vietnam war as "the most barbaric imperialistic war of this century" (for which, of course, America is to blame). He is simply one more observer who welcomes the general chaos because it could bring down the American system, and that is the goal for which they most devoutly wish.

What specifically does King want? In his book he asks for a guaranteed annual income, which is not so different from the radical but attractive proposal of Dr. Milton Friedman for a negative income tax. He wants: More Negroes elected as officials (since the book's appearance, the State of Mississippi has munificently obliged); better schools (who doesn't); more jobs (the unemployment rate is reassuringly low); and protection of everyone's rights.

But the point is, as Kopkind quite rightly intuits, that if all

of this were realized there would still be the guerrillas, to use the phrase he so obviously relishes, even if he came later than others to appreciating why they developed.

James Baldwin said in June of 1963: "Martin Luther King is a great man, but he has come to the end of his rope." And on that occasion, conservatives also discerned the same thing. "It is a tragic matter" (I wrote, commenting on Baldwin's book, "The Fire Next Time"), "tragedy here defined as an irresistible force moving on a collision course towards an immovable body. What Baldwin has asked for is nothing less than the evanescence of color. So long as the eyes remark the difference between black and white, existential differences, of greater or lesser consequence, but of meaning just the same, will exist. The job at hand is not to try to obliterate differences which only autohypnotic color blindness could achieve, but to stimulate man's capacity for love and his toleration, understanding, and respect for other, different people."

Such a program will not likely be accelerated by Martin Luther King's new, desperate exhortation to chaos. Nor should it. Repression is an unpleasant instrument, but it is absolutely necessary for civilizations that believe in order and human rights.

I wish to God that Hitler and Lenin had been repressed. And word should be gently got through to the nonviolent avenger, King, that in the unlikely event he succeeds in mobilizing his legions, they will be most efficiently, indeed most zestfully, repressed. In the name, quite properly, of social justice.

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 199 AUG 28 1967

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date **AUG 21 1967**

307  
 55 AUG 29 1967

# King Calls for Massive Protests

From News Dispatches

ATLANTA, Aug. 15—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) will lead massive strikes and sit-ins in the Nation's big cities.

His plan calls for simultaneous school boycotts, sit-ins at factories, and a "camp-in" at Washington by unemployed youths.

Mr. King, speaking at the SCLC's 10th anniversary convention, made his most militant speech on urban rioting and its causes and cures.

Blaming the summer's violence on "the policy-makers of the white society," Mr. King said riots such as those in Newark and Detroit "were a Negro response that said 'inequality will now be resisted to the death.'"

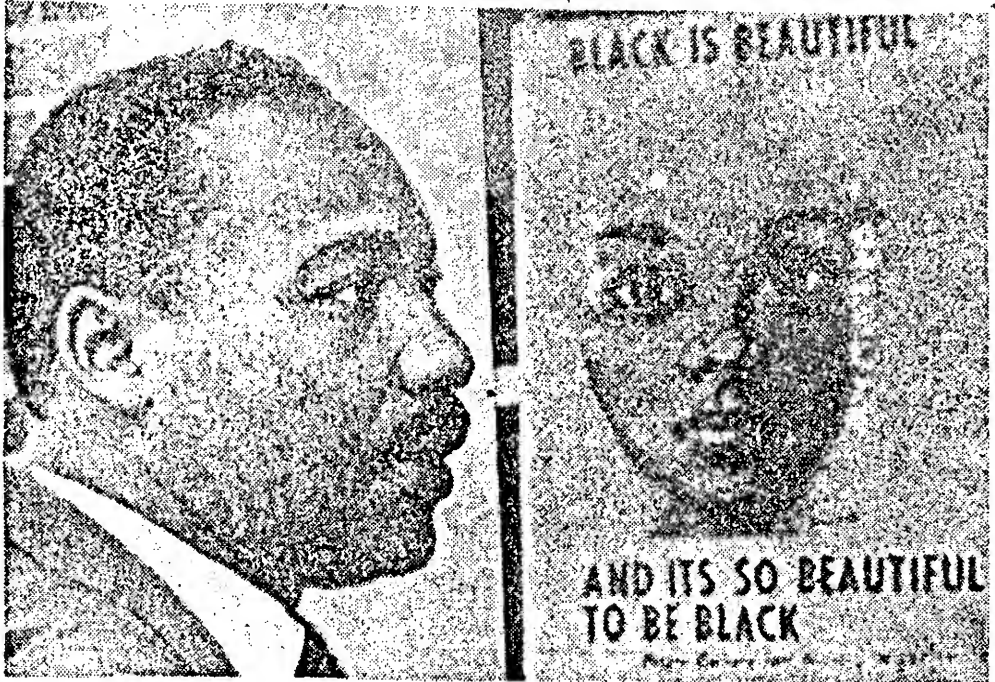
"The tragic truth is that Congress, more than the American people, is now running wild with racism," Mr. King said. He was interrupted more than a dozen times by applause from his audience of more than 500 whites and Negroes in the Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Mr. King said the staff of the SCLC would meet in about two weeks at an undisclosed location to map strategy for the civil disobedience assault on big cities. "It would have to begin this year," Mr. King said, but would add no specific dates or places.

One possibility, Mr. King said, would be a "hungry people's" sit-in at the Department of Labor building in Washington. King said the Washington demonstrations should begin before Congress adjourns its current session.

Mr. King said tactics of non-

See SCLC, A4, Col. 4



THEME—Dr. Martin Luther King, en route to the SCLC meeting yesterday, passed

this sign with a quotation he used in an address in Cleveland last month.

United Press International.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_ A-1  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 8/16/67

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124 AUG 17 1967

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SCLC—From Page A1

## Dr. King Calls for Strikes, Sit-Ins To 'Dislocate' Nation's Big Cities

violent marches and meetings that worked for Negroes in the South are "unsound" for big cities because they are absorbed in the rapid pace of urban life.

"To have effect we will have to develop mass disciplined forces that can remain excited and determined without dramatic conflagrations," Mr. King said.

"To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot, because it can be longer lasting, costly to the society but not wantonly destructive."

Stressing that his views on nonviolence "are as firm today as they ever were," Mr. King said armed insurrection by

Negroes will not achieve their goals.

"We reject both armed insurrection, either for shock value or conquest, along with weak pleas to insensitive government," Mr. King said. "Mass civil disobedience can use rage as a constructive and creative force."

Mr. King added: White decision-makers may care little about saving Negroes but they must care about saving their cities."

Mr. King said the primary objective of his proposal was "social change, not to put an iron lid on slums. It will not be welcome to the power structure even though it solves rioting because it supplants it with more effective action."

"The slums are the handiwork of a vicious system of the white society," he said. Five immediate causes of riots, he said, are white backlash or reaction, general discriminatory practices, unemployment, the Vietnam war and features peculiar to big cities such as crime, family problems and intensive migration.

"Our real problem is that there is no disposition by the administration nor Congress to seek fundamentals beyond police measures," Mr. King said.

Criticizing the study commission appointed by President Johnson to look into the riots, Mr. King said he was tired of commissions. It's time now for a commission to come out now with a program," he said.



United Press International

**MILITANT**—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., at convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, calls on Negroes to adopt "civil disobedience" on a massive scale in cities throughout the Nation.



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SAYS MOTTO IS 'BUILD, BABY, BUILD'

# Martin Luther King Condemns Riots as Ineffective

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. here last night condemned riots as "ineffective," but warned "America still has a long way to go" in solving its racial problems.

Dr. King said riots were not effective because they only serve to "intensify fears while relieving whites of their guilt."

"In Cleveland, they talk about burn down Hough (a highly Negro concentrated low income area) and getting

800 persons at Green Street Baptist Church, 519 E. Gray.

"I am not a consensus leader. A genuine leader is not a searcher of public opinion, but a mold of public opinion. If every Negro in America turned to riots, I will stand out as a lone voice saying 'This is not the way,' he said to prolonged applause.

The civil rights leader said there are 22 million Negroes in America, and "we are not going anywhere." Either the Negro is granted freedom, or he is going to have to be exterminated."

Dr. King said change and racial progress can be brought about through non-violent political action. He advised Negroes, who will soon be the voting majority in 10 U.S. cities to exercise political power to "Save America."

## Urges Negroes to Seek Office

Negroes, he said, should run for mayor and high elective office. "Then we can levy taxes, build better facilities and make the central city so attractive that whites will want to return."

Dr. King, a critic of the war in Vietnam, said the U. S. is spending billions on the war but can't spend \$44 million to get "rid of rats in the slums."

The Nobel Peace Prize winner said the nation could ill afford to ignore



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Calls for nonviolence

'whitey,' but 'whitey' is in the suburbs," Mr. King said.

"My slogan is 'build baby, build' and 'vote baby, vote.' This is the way we're going to build a better America," he said.

Dr. King defended nonviolence as a means of achieving civil rights for Negroes in an address before a crowd of

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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page A 31

Louisville Times

Louisville, Ky

Date: 8/3/67  
Edition: Home  
Author:  
Editor: Barry Bingham  
Title:

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Submitting Office: LS

☐ Being Investigated

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128 AUG 16 1967

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the millions of poor "who have become invisible" to middle-class Negroes and whites fleeing to the suburbs.

"Everybody should be guaranteed an income in this country. Of course, this means we might have to redefine what is work. But the mother who is at home with her children and the student studying to return to school is working just as hard as anyone," he said.

#### Asks Revision of Spending

Dr. King suggested that the nation rechannel some of the money being used elsewhere into creating new jobs as teacher aides, hospital aides and increase postal employment through additional mail deliveries.

"If practical things like this aren't done, the nation is headed for trouble," warned Dr. King. "These jobs would bring hope," he said, "to the thousands who walk the streets in search of jobs that don't exist, or fathers who have lost their manhood because they earn less than what is needed to support their families."

The country wonders what is wrong when there are riots, continued Dr. King, when there "is a major depression in the Negro community."

The forces of goodwill in this country

must unite to get rid of poverty. We have the resources to do the job," he said.

Dr. King said the U.S. remains largely a racist country. The roots of racism are very deep in America, and "we must face this honestly."

"There never has been a single commitment on the part of the majority of white men for genuine equality for the black man. We have been suffering from a backlash for 300 years," he said.

#### Forces Asked to Unite

The only way to stop the backlash is for Negroes, liberal whites and labor to join forces to defeat the backlash candidates, Dr. King said.

He urged Negroes to shake off complacency, to register and vote. "We must do something for ourselves," he said.

He arrived in Louisville late and joined a motorcade of 52 automobiles, including a flatbed truck with a rock 'n' roll band, at 11th and Cedar in the Beecher Terrace Housing project about 7 p.m.

His appearance here was to help open a nonpartisan voter registration drive conducted by the Citizens Registration Crusade. The motorcade started without Dr. King at 38th and W. Broadway at 6 p.m.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Calls For Negroes To 'Build, Baby, Build'

By EUGENE B. SLOAN  
Staff Writer

CHARLESTON — Dr. Martin Luther King, in an impassioned address Sunday before more than 3,000 persons in Charleston, called for a "build, baby, build" program for Negroes in America.

"Rioting isn't the way," said the Atlanta pastor, civil rights leader and Southern Christian Leadership Conference chief.

"A riot does more harm to a Negro than to anybody," he said.

"Whitey isn't there when Negroes burn their own communities. Who gets killed? The Negroes do. So I'm not going to say burn, baby, burn, I'm saying build, baby, build."

King's emotional speech struck a highly responsive chord with his audience, who interrupted frequently and almost liturgically with "yes brother, yes" and "It's true, true, true."

King, who flew to Charleston from Atlanta early in the afternoon, spoke effortlessly and without notes for more than an hour. There was a rumor that some Charleston Negroes had urged against an immoderate and incendiary kind of speech in view of recent racial tensions and rioting in other parts of the country.

Two Ku Klux Klan rallies in the Charleston area also were held during the weekend. The first was Saturday night in a field near Ravenel where a cross was burned after three speakers blamed President Lyndon Johnson for the racial riots.

Among the speakers who hit out at integration was S. C. Grand Dragon Robert E. Scoggin, who told his listeners that "America is burning and President Johnson is responsible for it." Another Klan rally was scheduled Saturday night on Highway 17 near Murrells Inlet.

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Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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The State

Columbia S. C.

Date: 7/31/67

Edition:

Author: Eugene B. Sloan

Editor: W.D. Workman,

Title:

Character:

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Classification: 100-106

Submitting Office: Columbia

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If there was any impulse for violence in Charleston, it did not appear during the weekend. Conspicuous at all three meetings were agents from the State Law Enforcement Division.

King was constantly guarded by a well-prepared force which included a dozen SLED agents, several FBI agents, and Charleston city and county police, including about 20 Negro officers.

Riding in radio-equipped cars to and from the airport were SLED chief J. P. Stron and Henry Lake, legal advise

er to Gov. Robert E. McNair.

King's audience was composed of well-dressed men, women and children who filled up Charleston County Hall. Prayers and hymns preceded King's address.

King bore down heavily on the causes of Negro unrest in cities—"poverty, decay and unemployment in the midst of spectacular scientific and technological progress elsewhere.

"We have made neighborhoods, but not brotherhoods. We have learned to fly through the skies like a bird,

to sail through the waters like fish, but we haven't learned to walk together on the earth like brothers and sisters," he said.

He charged that the nation had shown to little concern for its Negroes, and said "America must hear about its sins." He said the war on poverty has yet to have a good skirmish and he had seen too many men, young and old, without employment in Cleveland.

"Negroes are starving by the thousands in Mississippi and some in South Carolina,"

he said. He told of work-starved Negro men forced to live in slums, "not with wall to wall carpets but with wall to wall rats and roaches."

He said poverty had forced many Negro people to become "dope addicts, drunkards and prostitutes living on the outskirts of hope. The civil rights movement and the nation has to address itself to this problem," he said. "White people do not understand how serious the problem is."

(See KING, 10-B, Col. 1)



Staff Photo By Richard Bonnell

Charleston Detective, Left, Guards King

Referring to the parable of Dives and Lazarus of the New Testament, King said Dives didn't go to hell because he was rich, rather he went to hell because he passed by Lazarus every day and never even saw him.

He reiterated his opposition to the war in Vietnam. "I ain't gonna study war no more. Yes, brother, I'm not going to kill anybody here in America or anybody in Vietnam."

He called it "the most unjust war in the modern world, if not in history."

On Wednesday, King issued

a statement in New York with three other Negro leaders which urged Negroes to put an end to mob rule and violence which has spread through urban ghettos.

"Killing, Arson and looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such," they said. "Equally guilty are those who provoke and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people."

They said they were "confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets."



Staff Photo By Richard Bonnet  
*King Leaves After Speech*

# Dr. King Reports Boycott of Sealtest By Cleveland A.&P.

CLEVELAND, July 29 (UPI) — The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company has agreed to remove Sealtest Dairy Products from its shelves, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced today as he talked with Negroes here during a voter registration drive.

Dr. King said he was told the stores would take the action in light of "Operation Breadbasket," a boycott of Sealtest Products, a division of the National Dairy Company.

The action was limited to the Cleveland area.

The leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference also disclosed that Sealtest officials had sent him a special delivery letter, asking for negotiations.

The Negro leader instigated the boycott after Sealtest allegedly refused to supply him and his aides with employment records. Dr. King contends that only 40 or so of Sealtest's 400 employees in Cleveland are Negroes; and that these are in low-paying jobs.

In talks at East Side playgrounds, Dr. King repeated past warnings about resorting to violence in the civil rights movement.

He reminded his audience of the Negro's political power saying:

"Remember how much politics determines your life. Politics determines in many instances what type of life you will have, what type of mayor, police chief and housing."

He urged formation of tenant unions in an effort to get slum landlords to fix up their properties.

Dr. King said that if one person failed to pay his rent in protest of building conditions, he will simply be tossed out.

"But if 30 persons don't, that becomes a crisis. This is what I mean by sticking together," he said.

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*A. R. Smith*  
*Life for (Gandhi)*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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12 AUG 2 1967

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Daley Loses His Cool

The Rev. Martin Luther King got under Mayor Daley's skin Wednesday when he said that conditions in Chicago could provoke racial outbreaks such as Detroit and Newark have been experiencing. But the Mayor's truculent we'll-shoot-'em-if-they-raise-their-heads response was hardly calculated to help the situation.

Doubtless the mayor was all the more incensed with King because the Nobel laureate earlier had said nice things about the way Chicago has been meeting its civil rights obligations this summer. And it was surely gratuitous on King's part to sound off just now.

But it was hardly necessary for Daley to wave red flags. "Thousands of troops can be on our streets within an hour," he threatened. And, "I can assure you . . . the ammunition will be live." And "We

know that Chicago is the next target."

If Chicago is, indeed, the next target, the Mayor can best meet the threat with deeds, rather than words.

This point that "the criminal element will not prevail in Chicago" is well taken, of course, but most people will take that for granted and put their trust in the Mayor's fine police department.

If the Mayor wants to make an oral contribution to the situation he can best do it by emphasizing the positive things Chicago has been doing to take the heat out of the civil rights protests. What he succeeded in doing on Thursday, was to paint a picture of a city blustering outwardly but quivering inwardly in the face of possible trouble. We don't believe that's a true picture of the way Chicagoans are looking to the immediate future.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
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Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO DAILY NEW

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Editor: ROY M. FISHER

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128 AUG 11 1967

23 JUL 14 1967

# Dr. King Names 3 Targets In Campaign for Negro Jobs

CHICAGO, July 12 (AP)—Three major food concerns were named by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Wednesday as targets of Operation Breadbasket, a boycott campaign designed to gain more jobs for Negroes.

Dr. King, speaking with newsmen at the close of the three-day National Conference of Clergymen, said that the Kellogg Company, National Dairy Products, producers of Kraft foods, and the California Packing Company, maker of Del Monte brand foods, would be boycotted nationally.

Dr. King also said that future targets included the pharmaceutical industry and the General Motors Corporation.

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People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
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128 AUG 2 1967

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King Picks 3 Target Firms

# Negroes Expand Job Drive to 25 Cities

By Jerry Lipson

Civil rights leaders are expanding from two cities to 25 their drive for more and better jobs for Negroes.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. says a program to mobilize Negro buying power will begin immediately in the

25 cities where one-third of the nation's Negroes live.

Negroes, he told a press conference Wednesday, spend \$30 billion annually and "we see no reason for the American Negro to pour his spending power" into companies "which deny him employment or relegate him to menial labor at low wages."

The new project is an expansion of Operation Breadbasket, which under threats of boycotts and buyers' strikes seeks jobs for Negroes among firms doing business in the ghettos.

"Our weapon is nonco-operation with economic injustice," Dr. King said of Breadbasket, which has operated only in Chicago and Atlanta. It is sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Dr. King heads.

THE FIRST national targets, Dr. King said, will be three food companies and one of the nation's three largest auto manufacturers.

The food firms are a maker of breakfast cereals, a processor of dairy products and a producer of frozen goods.

These companies were

chosen, Dr. King said, "solely because their products are typical of those sold in large quantities in the ghetto."

The firms have not been contacted, he said, conceding the possibility their policies on Negro employment and promotion may be acceptable.

"We'd like to find out so we can move on to others, but no industry as a whole can boast of clean hands (on job discrimination)."

After studying employment and promotion records of the companies, Breadbasket representatives will approach executives to negotiate for more jobs and promotions for Negroes, Dr. King said.

Boycotts and, if necessary, picketing will be resorted to only if negotiations fail, he stressed.

Four other demands of economic and educational importance to Negroes will be made:

- Active recruitment of Negroes and on-the-job training programs to prepare them for later promotion.
- Location of plants and other facilities in areas easily accessible to Negroes.
- Granting of franchises and dealerships to Negroes, use of Negro professionals, such as lawyers and accountants, and transfers of funds to Negro-owned banks.
- Support for education in the Negro community, including direct grants to Negro schools for research and scholarships.

Breadbasket, Dr. King said, is the recognition that unem-

ployment and underemployment are the "basic problem causing much of the tension and disruption in our cities."

The new program was announced at the end of a two-day planning session at the Chicago Theological Seminary, 1158 E. 58th St., which brought together 150 ministers from 42 cities.

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Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

7-13-67

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Editor: ROY M. FISHER

Title:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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## NEGROES ARE SEEN SHUNNING 3D PARTY

WASHINGTON, July 9 (AP) —Whitney M. Young Jr., director of the National Urban League, said Sunday that Negroes would not waste their votes on a third party, even if the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were its Presidential candidate.

Mr. Young also indicated his belief that even a Republican candidate as liberal as Governor Rockefeller of New York would probably not dent Negro support of President Johnson in the 1968 election.

"It's inconceivable to me, first of all," Mr. Young said, "to believe that Martin Luther King would permit himself to run on a third party ticket."

"If he did, I think the Negro citizen would look at that as a third party peace ticket and would recognize that their votes would be pretty much wasted . . . and that what they must do is make a decision between the possibilities of election and pushing for certain programs and promises from one of the two major party candidates."

Mr. Young commented in response to questions on the Columbia Broadcasting System radio-television program "Face the Nation."

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# DR. KING'S GROUP TO RESTUDY ROLE

To Decide Whether It Will  
Enter Partisan Politics

By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 10.—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference will consider entering partisan politics at its convention in Atlanta Aug. 14-17.

Dr. Andrew J. Young, executive director of the organization, said in an interview today that Negroes and the poor needed a political organization for effective use of their developing political strength.

He noted that the organization had never endorsed candidates for political office or taken part in partisan politics.

"But in August," he said, "we will reassess our role."

Speaking of Negroes in both the South and North, he said: "We can't leave them totally at the mercy of the big city machines or of labor unions that may not have their interests at heart."

He said that Dr. King, president of the Leadership Conference, had "symbolized" the effort to get the vote for Negroes in the South and that then his organization had "cut them loose" to use it.

"But we can't just cut them loose," he said. "Many want to maintain a tie, and the only leadership they've ever had confidence in has been the civil rights movement, because they can't trust either the Republican or the Democratic party. This is becoming more and more true in the North, too."

The National Conference for New Politics announced at a news conference here today that it would hold a convention in Chicago on Labor Day weekend to devise strategies for the defeat of President Johnson if he seeks re-election next year.

The amalgamated group of civil rights, student and peace organizations will hear Dr. King, a member of the organization's national council, make the keynote address Aug. 31.

The convention will consider whether to start a third party with Dr. King as its Presidential candidate in 1968.

Dr. King said in a statement today that he had excluded any such possibility in a public statement April 25, "and that decision remains unaltered."

He said that his presence as keynote speaker did not imply endorsement of any decisions the five-day conference might make because he would not be participating in its deliberations or decisions.

"I am related to the convention merely as a guest speaker at its mass rally," he said.

Dr. King said that the war in Vietnam was creating a "fluid political situation."

"Should this unwise and futile war continue to escalate," he said, "and should the campaign for racial equality be further starved, rebuked and forgotten, our country inevitably will be facing national disaster."

"Such circumstances may well cause realignments in American politics and make relevant an independent candidacy, but even so I do not conceive of this as my role."

Neither he nor Dr. Young would say whether this meant that Dr. King would not run under any circumstances.

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# **DR. KING EXPANDS NEGRO JOB DRIVE**

**Put Economic Pressure  
on Business in 42 Cities**

By **DONALD JANSON**  
Special to The New York Times

**CHICAGO, July 1**—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced today nationwide application of Operation Breadbasket.

Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a news conference the organization's program of economic pressure on business concerns to obtain jobs for ghetto Negroes would be initiated promptly in 42 cities with Negro populations of more than 100,000.

He said pilot programs in Atlanta and Chicago had proved successful and "the time has come for us to expand Operation Breadbasket on a nationwide scale."

He indicated that the plan would constitute the main thrust of his organization's civil rights program this summer in contrast to the open-housing demonstrations that dominated his efforts last summer.

Open-housing marches led by Dr. King in Chicago neighborhoods last summer were met with white violence but led to pledges by city, church, business and realty leaders to make fair-housing a reality here.

## **Meets Clergymen**

Chicago leaders are "going all out to implement this agreement," Dr. King said, "so it is not necessary now to have more marches over this issue."

He made the statement at the Chicago Theological Seminary, where 150 Negro clergymen from the 42 cities are meeting with him and other S.C.L.C. leaders to plan the Operation Breadbasket drive.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has been in charge of the program in Chicago for the 15 months of its existence, said in an interview that national companies with stores or other outlets in many cities would be among the new targets.

Until now Operation Breadbasket has concentrated on local stores serving ghetto areas in a single city.

Among the first of the new cities where economic pressure will be put, Dr. King said, are New York, Newark, Los Angeles, Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis and Detroit.

The organizing will be done by S.C.L.C. staff members and the ghetto ministers who responded to Dr. King's invitation to attend the three-day conference that began in closed session here yesterday. All five boroughs of New York City are represented, Dr. King said.

## **Lack of Income Cited**

Dr. King said it was the lack of income and jobs in slums that bred the riots major of the nation's cities have suffered for the last three summers.

"As long as people are devoid of jobs they will find themselves in moments of despair that could lead to continuation of these disorders," he said.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner said Operation Breadbasket had helped to lessen tensions in Chicago and could do so elsewhere. In 15 months, he said, it had produced 2,200 new jobs worth \$15-million a year in income to Chicago slum dwellers.

Four large grocery chains, he reported, have agreed to recruit, hire, train and promote Negroes. They have also agreed, he said, to transform some of their accounts to Negro banks and savings and loan

company, "which typically in America have been starved for capital."

They also have agreed, he said, to retail Negro products, enabling Negro companies to expand and employ more people.

Similarly, he said, Operation Breadbasket in Chicago has helped Negro companies win contracts for the first time for scavenger, pest control and construction services.

## **New Services Listed**

A Negro contractor is now building a grocery in Chicago, he said, and Negro companies are aiming for a key role in "rebuilding the ghetto."

Another "pioneering victory here," Dr. King said, is the placement of some of the millions of dollars in state funds in Negro financial institutions for the first time.

He said Operation Breadbasket had also been successful in Atlanta, where it was started.

In Cleveland, he said, an economic boycott of Sealtest milk products was started last week "and already 19 stores in the ghetto have agreed to take Sealtest off their shelves."

Operation Breadbasket operates on the premise that Negroes need not patronize a business in Negro neighborhoods that denies them equal job opportunities. If companies do not adopt fair employment policies voluntarily when approached, their products are boycotted until they capitulate.

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# Labor Asks Justices to Rehear Dr. King's Contempt Conviction

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 10 — The nation's labor federation asked the Supreme Court today to reconsider its decision upholding the contempt conviction of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders.

In an amicus curiae brief, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations said it believed the Court's recent ruling "may furnish local officials and judges with a means of destroying rights of free speech and assembly generally, and the right of workers to organize in particular."

The importance that the federation places on the decision was reflected in the fact that this was the first time since its formation in 1955 that the federation had filed a "friend of the court" brief asking the Court for a rehearing.

By a 5-to-4 vote last month the Court upheld the contempt of court convictions of Dr. King and seven other Negro ministers who violated an Alabama court order by leading desegregation demonstrations in Birmingham four years ago.

## Thought It Unjust

The eight Negro ministers said they had disobeyed the court order because they believed the law and the order unjust. But the Supreme Court's majority stood by the principle that an individual cannot test the validity of a court order by disobeying it and then challenging it when prosecuted for contempt.

The Federation's brief today passed rather lightly over the damage it said the ruling would do to the right of free speech and assembly, saying that that point had been argued adequately by others. Instead, it concentrated on an assertion that the ruling would help hostile local officials to

undercut established national labor policy.

The Federation argued that the ruling was inconsistent with established Supreme Court doctrine because it upheld a state procedure that demanded "a substantial relinquishment of constitutional or other important federal rights."

In this case, the brief said, the Alabama court order was illegal and required the defendants to forego their constitutional rights at a time when the exercise of the rights was most important.

"In a labor relations context," the Federation contended, "this doctrine means that unions and workers must forego their right to picket or strike, in deference to an unconstitutional ordinance or an illegal injunction, at the height of a strike or organizing campaign."

"It means that an unscrupulous city council or judge can break any strike or organizing campaign, even if the organizers or strikers are so sure that the ordinance or injunction is illegal that they are ready to risk jail if they are wrong."

The brief expressed particular concern about the impact the court ruling might have on union organizing efforts in the Southeast.

Officials in the Southeast, the brief went on, often lure industry to their towns with tax incentives and then undertake an antiunion campaign to protect their investment. The two most important devices used, the Federation said, are a temporary restraining order and a local licensing ordinance.

The federation said that unions must have the right to ignore court injunctions it believes to be illegal, under the peril of possible future penalty, if the right to organize is not to be destroyed in many areas of the country.

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# THE LONESOME ROAD

By Martin Duberman

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: Chaos or Community?  
By Martin Luther King Jr. Harper & Row. 191 pp. \$4.95.

In terms of character alone Martin Luther King is a phenomenon. He learned long ago that white hatred of Negroes reflects white, not Negro, deformities, and this has allowed him to feel compassion for the oppressors as well as the oppressed, to grow in strength even while surrounded by vilification. But recently the personal attacks on King have come from less traditional sources and must therefore have proved a greater challenge to his equanimity. Some of the advocates of Black Power and of black nationalism have begun to treat King's insistence on non-violence as a prehistoric relic, and to mock King himself, with his appeals to religion, to patience and to conscience, as an irrelevancy. Their scorn has been modified in recent months by King's outspoken stand against our policy in Vietnam, but ironically that same stand has brought denunciation from a different quarter in the Negro community—from the established civil rights forces led by Roy Wilkins, Ralph Bunche and Whitney Young.

Faced with abuse on all sides, King has not only remained temperate but has continued to seek reconciliation—both within the Negro community and also in terms of a larger alliance with disaffected whites. At the same time, he has continued to speak his mind, refusing to let pleas for tactical caution obscure the imperative responsibility he feels (which every citizen should feel) to apply ethical standards to international as well as domestic questions. To have managed all this in the face of heavy pressures and wounding accusations bespeaks a character of rare stability, breadth and integrity. What a pity ~~he will~~ never be our President.

King's new book, *Where*

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his attempt to summarize the recent conflicts within the civil rights movement, to consider the larger context, both national and international, which helps to account for these conflicts, and finally, to suggest possible lines for action. King is far more successful, it seems to me, in dealing with the first two of these considerations than with the third, in part because of his tendency when speaking of the future to substitute rhetoric for specificity, in part because of the difficulties of analyzing this complex, appalling moment in our nation's history. That King succeeds as well as he does is additional tribute to the unruffled intelligence of this unendingly impressive American.

The book begins with the question "Where are we?" King, in answering it, makes some subtle and needed distinctions. He rightly insists, first of all, that the disruption of the civil rights movement cannot be explained, as it so often is, by resort to pat answers. The simple equation which has the white backlash growing solely out of Watts and Black Power is inadequate. The hard truth is that the decrease in white sympathy preceded those developments. With Selma and the Voting Rights Act, one phase of the civil rights movement ended—the easy phase—where white sympathy could be readily engaged against the outright brutalities of Southern life. But as King puts it, "To stay murder is not the same thing as to ordain brotherhood." Public indignation against the Bull Connors was achieved far more easily than was the follow-up commitment to eradicate discrimination in housing, jobs and schools—in other words, to establish equal rather than improved opportunities for Negroes.

White America showed its reluctance about equality before Watts and before the emergence of Black Power, though these developments have since served as convenient excuses for still further delays. The reluctance showed in polls which indicated that 50 per cent of white Americans would object to having a Negro as a neighbor and 88 per cent to having their teenage child date a Negro. It showed in the refusal to implement vigorously civil rights legislation—a refusal which has left segregation the overwhelming pattern of our schools (84.1 per cent in the 11 Southern states), which has left Negro voter registration in Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia still under 50 per cent (and barely above it in four other Southern states), and which has made a mockery of open-occupancy and equal job opportunity legislation. In short, only a small minority of whites are yet authentically committed to equality, and it is this, not Negro "irresponsibility," which has prevented greater progress. The urban riots and the slogan of Black Power, as King says, "are not the causes of white resistance, they are consequences of it."

Though King's indictment of white America is as severe as it is justified, he follows it, curiously, with some optimistic predictions. The line of progress, he points out, is never straight: setbacks, disappointments, even retreats mark every movement for substantive social change. The current doldrums in which the civil rights movement finds itself were both predictable and natural, and Negroes should not, therefore, fall into pessimism or defeatism. The Negro has already won a great deal, King argues, especially in the intangible realm of heightened self-respect, and "no matter how many obstacles persist the Negro's forward march can no longer be stopped."

King bases this prediction on prescriptions which may not be tried. First, he advises black people to increase their efforts at amassing additional political and economic power. Here he agrees with the advocates of Black Power even while objecting to the way the Stokely Carmichaels have substituted for programs slogans which imply separatism and violence.

Yet when King himself comes to spelling out a program for pooling black resources, economic and political, its stock generalities prove vulnerably close to Carmichael's sloganeering. He calls on the Negro to use his buying power to force policy changes among business concerns, but he gives no specifics as to which forms of selective buying might prove fruitful or which businesses might be the most useful targets. Likewise, when he calls on Negroes to develop "habits of thrift and techniques of wise investment," he says nothing about how these qualities may be inculcated, about where the average Negro is to find the money with which to make wise investments, or, finally, whether such middle-class "virtues" are indeed those to be highly prized and cultivated.

King does not believe that the Negro community, even if it can be brought to unified effort, will by itself have sufficient strength to achieve its goals. He understands well the bitterness and frustration out of which many Negroes, especially younger ones, have turned to black nationalism and separatism in a search for structure and purpose in their lives. But the nationalist path, King insists, can lead only to disaster; it represents what Bayard Rustin has called the "no-win" policy, the mistaken notion that there can be a separate black road to fulfillment outside the main stream of American life. What is needed instead, King argues, is a continuing (perhaps one might better say, reinvigorated) coalition between Negroes and whites, a coalition which will be strong enough to exert real pressure on the major parties to become more responsive to the needs of the poor. Only such a coalition can requisition the billions of dollars needed to correct the hard-core inequalities from which the American poor, white and black, suffer.

King's position seems to me impeccable in theory, but it suffers, as he himself must realize, from the lack of available allies for the coalition he advocates. He speaks, for example, of a large group of poor whites who in reality share common grievances with poor Negroes. But reality, as we all know, is only one, and probably one of the weaker, wellsprings of human behavior. The real question is: Can the poor whites in America be brought to recognize their common interest with poor Negroes, or will the transcending power of racism continue to prevent such a merger? Historically, the evidence is not encouraging; with the brief and limited exception of the Populist era, poor whites have put race before all other considerations—including self-interest.

And yet what other than coalition politics can King recommend? Feeling as he does that the American Negro's future rests in his own country—not in Africa, not in a union of the dark people of the world based on some mystical abstraction like *negritude*—King must then find a way to encourage American Negroes to believe that they in fact have a future (that is, an equitable one) in this country. The most hopeful path continues to be the old one of coalition politics, and it is that path to which King adheres. But at this moment in our national life the brutal fact is that coalition politics is a slim hope only.

This is a fact that King, for both tactical and temperamental reasons, cannot afford to acknowledge. Its admission is impossible tactically because it might precipitate the Negro community into the arms of black nationalism, and this, in King's view, would mean a dead end. Its admission is impossible temperamentally because King's personal optimism is deeply ingrained. He believes obstacles are always surmountable, given sufficient will and faith. He believes American racism can and will be overcome, that the goal of "genuine inter-group and interpersonal living" can be reached though the way be difficult.

Since the grounds for such hope have in reality become tenuous and since King chooses, for reasons of tactics and temperament, not to acknowledge that fact fully, he is forced to fall back on rhetoric as a substitute for argument, to rely on eloquence to camouflage the lack of supporting data. Thus his discussion of future prospects contains more exhortation than sustained analysis: "there is nothing to keep us from remolding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood"; "dark and demonic responses will be removed only as men are possessed by the invisible inner law which etches on their hearts the conviction that all men are brothers and that love is mankind's most potent weapon for personal and social transformation."

Exhortation, alas, even were it less pious, will not be enough to overcome the complacency and racism of the American majority or to restore the faith of the disheartened, alienated minority. It is far from clear what, if anything, can. The national prognosis remains poor until something—probably only an event of catastrophic proportions such as a major war or depression—plunges us to a level of despair, and thus of self-confrontation, which could, ultimately, lead to renewed health.

BOOK WEEK July 9, 1967







# New Left Convention Next Month Will Seek Strategy to Defeat Johnson

CHICAGO, July 8 — About 200 peace, civil rights and new left student organizations are being invited to a convention here next month to devise strategy aimed at defeating President Johnson for re-election.

The convention is being called by the National Conference for New Politics, a liberal anti-war group based in New York City. The five-day meeting will be held at the Palmer House beginning Aug. 31. The keynote speaker at a rally in the Coliseum that night will be the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

One question before the convention will be whether to start a third party with Dr. King as its 1968 Presidential candidate. He has said he would not run.

Invitations to attend the convention were mailed this week to scores of national and local organizations. The call will be announced at a news conference here Monday.

## 2,000 Are Expected

Michael P. Wood, chairman of the convention steering committee, said in an interview today that 2,000 delegates and expected, including representatives of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Democratic Society, the W.E.B. DuBois Club of America, the National Council of American Indians, the Lawyers Committee on Vietnam, the Medical Committee for Human Rights



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Local organizations from Puerto Rico to Hawaii have been invited, including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, the Delta Ministry, the United Farm Workers Organization of California, Mothers for Adequate Welfare in Massachusetts, 20 groups from New York such as FIGHT and The Brothers, and the Min-King/Spock.

Advocates of a party headed by Dr. King and Dr. Benjamin Spock, the pediatrician who has been a leader of the peace movement, believe it would attract enough Negro and

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liberal votes to deny the President the electoral votes of some states in a close election.

Any Republican candidate elected in his place, Mr. Wood said, would be no better. But the red-bearded, 25-year-old activist said the campaign would give "the movement" a base for future political activity and would free "good Democrats" for a return to positions of conscience that they have given up while their party is in power in order to adhere to Johnson policy positions.

#### 'Call to Convention'

"Who decided to put a man on the moon, to give \$80-billion a year to the military establishment, instead of making our country a healthy and creative place to live and raise children?" asked the "Call to Convention" signed by Mr. Wood, State Representative Julian Bond of Georgia, Dr. Spock, the Rev. Andrew J. Young, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other members of the convention steering committee.

"We didn't.

"Whoever runs America, it is not the American people.

"We intend to build a different American future.

"We intend to end the destruction of Vietnam . . .

"We intend to end poverty, fear and despair at home.

"We intend to end the bribery and subversion of our private associations, unions and churches by the secret agencies of 'our' own government.

"We intend to make our government accountable to us . . .

"We intend to make the election process meaningful again.

"We intend to make it available to those who have always been excluded from it . . .

"We will not be trapped inside the old parties; and we will not be trapped outside of them."

A third party is not the only strategy to be proposed at the convention. Mr. Wood, former staff member of the National Student Association who disclosed its subsidies from the Central Intelligence Agency, said there would be several others.

One calls for running "favorite son" Presidential candidates in key industrial states, such as Adam Clayton Powell in New York. The effort in that case would be to mobilize the usually Democratic Negro vote behind Mr. Powell to deny victory in the state to President Johnson.

"Johnson in '68 as the real issue that will bring 'the movement' together in Chicago and in the campaign," Mr. Wood said. "He symbolizes the corruption and immorality of the American policy on Vietnam."

He said the President also symbolized the political set of priorities that favors destruction in Vietnam over civil and human rights of disadvantaged minorities at home.

Other strategies that will be considered at the convention include local rather than national candidacies on these issues. In its year or so of existence, the National Conference for New Politics has helped to finance several successful candidates for local office, including A. A. Rayner Jr. and William Cousins Jr. of Chicago, Negro aldermen.

Co-chairmen of the organization are Representative Bond, the former S.N.C.C. leader who was twice refused his seat by the Georgia Legislature because of his outspoken opposition to the Vietnam war, and Simon Casady, who was ousted as

president of the California Democratic Council after he made speeches critical of President Johnson.

Members of the national council of the conference include Dr. King; Dr. Spock; Stokely Carmichael, S.N.C.C.'s leading exponent of black power; and Robert Scheer, managing editor of Ramparts magazine.

Magazines invited to send observers to the convention include Ramparts, Liberation, Dissent, Studies on the Left, New University Thought, National Guardian, Nation, Texas Observer and I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Speakers will include Mr. Scheer, Dr. Spock, Representative Bond, Mr. Casady and Thomas Hayden, former president of Students for a Democratic Society and organizer of the Newark Community Union Project. Mr. Hayden visited North Vietnam in 1965 in defiance of a State Department ban.

Mr. Wood said the "old left" organizations such as the Communist party were not being

invited to the convention because they had become "too conservative." However, he said, none will be excluded if they send observers.

#### Coordinating Office

The steering committee has opened an office in Chicago to coordinate convention planning. Between now and convention time it will publish a tabloid called New Politics News. The first issue was mailed to interested groups yesterday. The next will abstract "position papers" to be considered at the convention.

Besides deciding on political strategy for 1968 and beyond, the convention will adopt a platform and determine what the future structure and functions of the National Conference for New Politics will be.

Voting strength will be allocated to participating local organizations on the basis of active membership. Representatives of national organizations and others who attend as individuals will share a maximum of 20 votes per Congressional district.



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## The Nation

WHEN Federal Judge Robert Peckham, sitting at San Francisco, declared a moratorium on all California executions until an August hearing on the validity of capital punishment, San Quentin death row inmates "whooped and hollered" with joy and relief.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart has stayed for at least three months a High Court mandate that would have meant five days in a Birmingham, Ala., jail for the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and seven other civil rights leaders.



JUDGE PECKHAM

New Orleans Dist. Atty. Jim Garrison's office asked a September trial for Clay A. Shaw, businessman accused of conspiring to kill President Kennedy.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUL 6 1967

56 JUL 18 1967

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123 JUL 18 1967

# CHICAGO N.A.A.C.P. AND DR. KING SPLIT

Group Quits Freedom Drive  
to Pursue Its Own Goals

By DONALD JANSON  
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, June 29—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has formally broken with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Chicago Freedom Movement.

Sidney Finley, regional director of the N.A.A.C.P. here, said in an interview today the Chicago branch had withdrawn from the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations earlier this year.

Notice of withdrawal was sent to Albert A. Raby, convenor of the organization, last Feb. 2 by Edward McClellan, executive secretary of the South Side Branch of the N.A.A.C.P.

The council is an umbrella organization for some 40 Chicago civil rights groups. It works with Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the Chicago Freedom Movement for equal opportunity in jobs, housing and education.

The N.A.A.C.P. was one of four founding organizations of the council four years ago. As the number of groups in the council grew, however, the association's voice was muted and its participation in council projects waned.

## Movement Created in '66

Dr. King arrived to make Chicago a Northern target of his Atlanta-based organization in the fall of 1965. The Chicago Freedom Movement was created last year as a device to give him a leadership role here and the cooperation of the amalgamated Chicago civil rights groups.

"We were never a member of the freedom movement," Mr. Finley said. "It has always been King-oriented. While seeking many of the same objectives, the N.A.A.C.P. pursues a separate course to achieve them."

The split began last summer. Dr. King led several open-housing marches here that were met with violence. The Rev. Carl Fuqua, then executive secretary of the Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P., denounced them as useless. When rioting broke out in the West Side, he said the N.A.A.C.P. would not join Dr. King to leave town.

The association did not participate with other council groups in the open-housing demonstrations. When they produced a "summit" meeting with city officials and rioters that led to an agreement to seek open housing, the council barred the N.A.A.C.P. from attending.

When Mr. Finley came anyway he was "thrown out," in the words of John McDermott, executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council and a member of the policy-making agenda committee of the council.

"The N.A.A.C.P. still thinks of itself as the civil rights movement rather than a partner in a cooperative effort," Mr. McDermott said today.

## N.A.A.C.P. Branch Splits

Last fall the association's branch here began a process of splitting into South, North and West branches. The process was completed by February, and Mr. McClellan used the reorganization as the reason for stating in his letter to Mr. Raby that the Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P. would no longer participate in council affairs because it no longer existed in the same form.

Since then the association here has formed the Chicago N.A.A.C.P. Metropolitan Council, with representatives of the three new branches. It could rejoin the council, Mr. Finley said, but if it should do so it would not participate in Dr. King's Freedom Movement.

This week the Freedom Movement and the N.A.A.C.P. sent separate delegations to Washington to oppose construction of a \$350-million atom smasher in suburban Weston because Illinois lacks an open-housing law. The N.A.A.C.P. did not participate in a Freedom Movement march at Weston last Saturday.

With 35,000 members here, the N.A.A.C.P. was the largest organization in the council. Some other groups remain members in name only, though not in all cases because of disagreement over the Chicago role and effectiveness of Dr. King.

Nonparticipating affiliates of the council include the Congress of Racial Equality, which marched to suburban Cicero to protest racial bigotry last summer after Dr. King called off a scheduled demonstration there; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the West Side Organization.

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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 30 1967

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### Miss Parker Wills Estate to Dr. King

NEW YORK, June 26 (AP) — Poet-satirist Dorothy Parker left the bulk of her estate to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it was disclosed today.

The estate was described as "modest."

Miss Parker's will filed in Surrogate's Court today named Dr. King as the beneficiary of cash, negotiable securities, and the income from a trust fund derived from copyrights, royalties and contract rights on her writings.

Dr. King is to get the income from the trust fund in semiannual payments during his lifetime. Upon his death, the principal of the trust will go outright to the NAACP.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald **XXX** \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date **6/27/67**

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 191 JUN 29 1967

62 JUL 1 1967

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## No Man Can Be His Own Judge

However unjust or even unconstitutional an individual may believe a court order to be, he must obey it. He may attempt to have it changed by appeal to a higher court. But he cannot take the law in his own hands and defy and disobey a court order. To permit this would tear down the very structure of law on which society is based and that protects all citizens, including those who believe they are being unjustly treated.

This, in essence, is what the United States Supreme Court ruled in upholding the conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and seven other Negro ministers who led desegregation demonstrations in Alabama four years ago, ignoring a court injunction forbidding the action.

Dr. King argued that the injunction was based on an unconstitutional state statute and that both stifled freedom of expression and assembly. Under such conditions he said that an exception should be made to a U.S. Supreme Court principle enunciated in 1922 that an individual cannot test the validity of a court order by disobeying it.

"No man," said Justice Potter Stewart, can be judge in his own case, however exalted his station, however righteous his motives, and irrespective of his race, color, politics or religion."

The court, said Justice Potter, could not hold that Dr. King was constitutionally free to ignore all the procedures of the law, including an appeal to a higher Alabama court to dissolve the injunction, and to carry the battle to the streets.

A minority of the justices disagreed, saying the opinion could make possible an infringement of freedoms in the name of "respect for the judicial process," that it could arm state courts with power to punish as "contempt" what they otherwise could not punish at all.

If state courts exceed their constitutional authority, if they attempt to stifle freedom of expression and assembly, the Supreme Court itself may be appealed to. This has happened in the past and many decisions of the Supreme Court have protected the civil rights of individuals against unjust state laws and unjust state courts. But these very protections would themselves mean nothing in a society in which the courts themselves can be defied. If those who would deny civil rights must obey the courts so must those who seek civil rights.

This court decision also should have an impact in the area of labor relations. Striking public employes, for example, have defied court orders to return to work. They should note well the dictum of the court that no man can be judge of his own case. This is fundamental to law and law is fundamental to the preservation of civil rights themselves.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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CHICAGO SUN T  
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6-14-67

Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Edition: **FOUR STAR F**  
Author: \_\_\_\_\_  
Editor: **EMMETT DEDN**  
Title: **MARTIN LUTHER**

Character: **100-35**  
or \_\_\_\_\_  
Classification: \_\_\_\_\_  
Submitting Office: **CHIC**  
**UNDER INVESTIGATION**

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**128 JUL 11 1967**

62 JUL 11 1967

## Dr. King's Conviction A20

The Supreme Court's majority opinion affirming the conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and seven other ministers for contempt of court after they had deliberately violated an injunction issued by a Birmingham judge in 1963 rests upon what strikes us as a sound legal doctrine.

Speaking for the court Justice Stewart said: "The rule of law that Alabama followed in this case reflects a belief that in the fair administration of justice no man can be judge in his own case, however exalted his station, however righteous his motives and irrespective of his race, color, politics or religion. This court cannot hold that (Dr. King and the others) were constitutionally free to ignore all the procedures of the law and carry their battle to the streets. . . . Respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom."

Justice Stewart was joined in this by Justices Black, Harlan, White and Clark, who has now stepped down from the bench. The dissenters were Chief

Justice Warren and Justices Brennan Douglas and Fortas.

In three opinions they bitterly attacked the majority holding. The details cannot be spelled out in this space. But the essence of the dissents was that the majority by affirming the convictions for violating the injunction, had in effect closed the door to a challenge of a "patently" unconstitutional Birmingham ordinance regulating parades and street demonstrations. The majority, of course, thought otherwise. They said the defendants should have challenged the legality of the injunction before willfully defying it.

We would like to think that the principle announced by the majority would be controlling in the future. But this would be a very dubious assumption in view of the President's nomination of Thurgood Marshall to replace Justice Clark. When a suitable case comes along after the Solicitor General takes his seat on the court, there is a high probability that the holding in the case of Dr. King will be overruled by a new 5 to 4 decision.

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Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date JUN 14 1967

51 JUN 19 1967

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128 JUN 19 1967

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## No Immediate Action Planned Against Eight

City officials said they would take no immediate action against eight Negro civil rights workers, including the Rev. Martin Luther King, whose conviction on contempt of court charges was upheld yesterday by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Expressing gratitude for the court's decision, Mayor Albert Boutwell said "I cannot, of course comment upon any further actions that might be taken by the city, the state courts or by the defendants

until we have seen the actual order from the Supreme Court."

The mayor said that any arrests would have to be made by the Jefferson County Sheriff's Dept. as the Negroes were held in contempt of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County.

Besides King, other Negro leaders liable now to arrest are Ralph Abernathy, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt Tee Walker, A. D. King, and Revs. J. T. Porter, T. L. Fisher, and J. W. Hayes.

Revs. Fisher and Porter, according to the mayor's office are still ministers at Birmingham churches. Mr. Walker is believed to be in New York City, A. D. King in Louisville, Ky.

Abernathy, an assistant to King, is in Atlanta.

Returning to the court's decision, Boutwell said, "The

dignity of the courts of the land, the force and authority of their injunctions and the orderly process of law that requires trial before the courts and not in the streets have been wisely and properly sustained by this ruling."

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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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THE BIRMINGHAM  
NEWS

1  
BIRMINGHAM POST-  
HERALD

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Date: 6-13-67

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor: EDWARD L. GRAND

Title: SIT-INS, BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Begin  
April 3, 1963

Character:

or 157-222

Classification:

Submitting Office: BIRMINGHAM

[ ] Being Investigated

67 JUN 29 1967

file 100-106

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# Boutwell feels King case ruling helps rule of law

BY LARRY CORCORAN  
News staff writer

Birmingham Mayor Albert Boutwell feels that Monday's Supreme Court decision to uphold the contempt of court conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King has preserved the rule of law rather than "opening the door to chaos."

Mayor Boutwell, expressing gratification that the high tribunal upheld the city's position in the case, said "the dignity of the court to enforce the authority of their injunction and the orderly process of law that requires trial before the courts and not in the streets have been widely and properly sustained by this ruling."

However, Mayor Boutwell did not hint of racial prejudice in his comments on the ruling which upholds the five-day sentence handed to Dr. King and several of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference for violating an injunction prohibiting parades without a permit in Birmingham.

"I cannot, of course, comment on any further action," Mayor Boutwell said, "that might be taken by this city, the state courts, or the defendant until we have received the actual order of the court."

NOT ONCE did Mayor Boutwell mention Dr. King's name, but he did praise the city's efforts in taking the matter to the high tribunal to have certain constitutional questions answered.

Mayor Boutwell did, however, praise J. M. Breckenridge and Earl R. Harris, attorneys who appeared before the high court.

"I was tremendously impressed with the dignity and thoroughness of their presentation," Mayor Boutwell said, "and by their evidence and complete understanding of the constitutional issues involved."

Mayor Boutwell also had a complimentary word for Dr. King's counsel. He said he was impressed by the "interested and intensive" questioning of counsel for both sides.

"I have followed the case with great interest, as have the municipal officials, law enforcement officers, judges and lawyers all over the country," he said.

"AN ADVERSE ruling could have opened the door to chaos instead of the rule of law," Mayor Boutwell said.

Mayor Boutwell, who attended oral arguments in Washington, said he was confident after hearing the city's legal presentation before the court that "our defense of lawful judicial procedure would be upheld."

In Atlanta, King said the five-day jail sentence is inconsequential to him, "but one must not overlook the sinister precedent established by this ruling."

KING SAID the Supreme Court upheld "the use of the injunction as a crippling device which could very well break the back of the nonviolent movement."

The contempt citations were

issued by former Circuit Judge William A. Jenkins Jr., who has since resigned to return to private law practice.

Judge Jenkins, after a lengthy hearing, cited 11 Negro civil-rights leaders, but Alabama Supreme Court dismissed the citations against three on the ground that they were not properly served with copies of the injunction.

They were N. H. Smith Jr., Andrew Young and James Bevel.

Contempt proceedings still are pending in the Chancery Division of Circuit Court here

against King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and 38 individual Negroes.

Action in these cases had been held in abeyance pending the outcome of the appeals by King and others.

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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Date: 6-13-67

Edition: METRO

Author:

Editor: JOHN W. BLOOM

Title: SIT-INS, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.; Beginning April 3.

Character:

or 157-232

Classification:

Submitting Office: BIRMINGHAM

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JUN 26 1967

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## King Raps High Court Decision

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has called a U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding his contempt of court conviction a "sinister precedent" which could "break the back of the nonviolent movement."

He said the same device was used early in the century to prevent formation of labor unions and to break strikes. He added that it gave license to racists at a time when Negroes "are desperately in need of orderly channels for redress."

The ruling Monday said King and seven other Negro leaders had no constitutional right to ignore all procedures of law in the Birmingham, Ala., demonstrations in 1963. At that time the eight were sentenced to five days in jail and fined \$50 for criminal contempt.

They had violated an injunction forbidding them to hold desegregation marches on Good Friday and Easter Sunday.

"I have no regrets about the course which we followed," King said. "But one must not overlook the sinister precedent established by this ruling."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Page 4-A  
The Atlanta Journal  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 6-13-67

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor: Jack Spalding

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C

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Classification:

Submitting Office: ATLANTA

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

# Hate Can Destroy All, King Says

Rights Leader  
Sounds Warning  
In Talks Here



MARTIN LUTHER KING

is pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in Avondale.

The hands on the world clock are moving toward midnight, warning men that hate and violence can destroy us all, Dr. Martin Luther King warned here in separate sermons yesterday.

"Man must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind," Dr. King said, quoting the late President Kennedy.

The civil rights leader and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) spoke at the morning service at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Lockland and at the Zion Baptist Church in Avondale in the afternoon.

ALTHOUGH Dr. King is a sharp critic of the U. S. policy in Vietnam, his primary emphasis yesterday was on civil rights.

Dr. King says 50 per cent of the Negroes in America still live in sub-standard housing.

"They know nothing about wall-to-wall carpeting but they do know about

wall-to-wall rats and roaches," Dr. King said.

In his talks, Dr. King referred to the midnight hour in Vietnam and in the Middle East as well as in the racial area in this country.

"We all have to learn to live together," he told a cheering audience. "The doctrine of black supremacy is as evil as the doctrine of white supremacy."

More than 2000 persons heard his two speeches.

THE REV. OTIS MOSS, Jr., pastor of the Lockland church and a regional director of the SCLC, says he sees no conflict in Dr. King crusading for peace in Vietnam while fighting for civil rights at home.

"He teaches, preaches and practices love and non-violence as a way of life not as a civil rights strategist," says Mr. Moss.

"He believes very deeply that this is the way people should live.

He applies this to all sectors of life. Philosophically, this is most consistent."

The Rev. Venechag Booth

*By the way  
C. L. M.  
D. H. M.*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Cincinnati Enquirer  
Cincinnati, Ohio

10 Cincinnati Post &  
Times Star  
Cincinnati, Ohio

The Citizen Journal  
Columbus, Ohio

Columbus Dispatch  
Columbus, Ohio

Dayton Daily News  
Dayton, Ohio

Journal Herald  
Dayton, Ohio

Date: 6/12/67  
Edition: 7 Star Final  
Author:  
Editor: Dick Thornburg  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification: 100-14700  
Submitting Office: Cincinnati  
☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED  
JUL 10 1967

62 JUL 11 1967

## NEW RIGHTS PHASE IS SEEN BY DR. KING

WASHINGTON, June 10 (AP)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said Saturday that what appeared to be loss of strength and division in the civil rights movement was actually a transition to a second phase—the struggle for genuine equality among the races.

Addressing the 24th annual awards banquet of the Capital Press Club, Dr. King said that the second phase would be more difficult and costly.

He said it would include the creation of new jobs, the eradication of slums, and the establishment of equality of opportunity in education.

"The problem will not be solved unless there is a radical restructuring of the economy and politics in the United States," Dr. King said.

He told the Negro journalists' club that the greatest achievement of the struggle for civil rights was the breaking down of Negro segregation in the South.

But, he said, the struggle for genuine equality will make previous achievements appear to have been bought at bargain prices.

Dr. King described riots as the "language of the unheard" and said it was significant that "summers of riots followed winters of debate."

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The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 6-12-67

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176 JUN 28 1967

51 JUN 29 1967

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King's Message... Learn, Baby, Learn

—BY GEORGE PALMER and EMIL DANSKER—  
Of The Enquirer Staff

"Learn, baby, learn!" Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. told a cheering gathering at Zion Baptist Church, Avondale, Sunday.

"Our cry should not be 'burn, baby, burn,' but 'learn, baby, learn'."

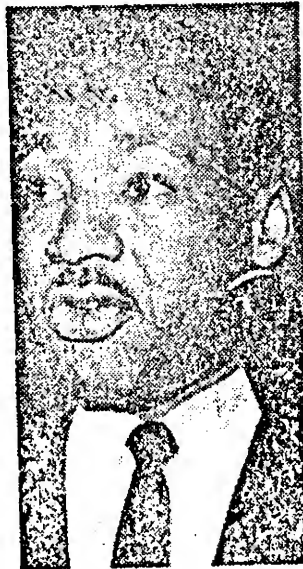
The soft-spoken civil rights leader addressed a near-capacity interfaith group, predominantly Negro, with only a scattering of white people in attendance.

His reference to 'burn, baby, burn' recalled the cry of rioting Negroes in 1965 in the Watts area of Los Angeles, as building after building was touched off with fire.

At the new Glenwood Avenue church, the Nobel Peace Prize winner told his audience "we must develop and maintain a sense of dignity and self-respect. There are too many Negroes with segregated minds."

Earlier Sunday King preached at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Lockland. More than 2200 people heard him in his two addresses. He left Sunday afternoon for his Atlanta, Ga. home.

He said his parents told their children, "you are as good as better children."



Dr. Martin L. King  
... a sense of dignity

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Mr. Mohr...  
Mr. Wick...  
Mr. Casper...  
Mr. Callahan...  
Mr. Conrad...  
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Mr. Gale...  
Mr. Rosen...  
Mr. Sullivan...  
Mr. Tavel...  
Mr. Trotter...  
Tele. Room...  
Miss Holmes...  
Miss Gandy...

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

31 Cincinnati Enquirer  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Cincinnati Post  
Times Star  
Cincinnati, Ohio

The Citizen Journal  
Columbus, Ohio

Columbus Dispatch  
Columbus, Ohio

Dayton Daily News  
Dayton, Ohio

Journal Herald  
Dayton, Ohio

Date: 6/12/67  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: Brady Black  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification: 100-14700  
Submitting Office: Cincinnati

☐ Being Investigated

51 JUN 19 1967

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File 4

"I KNEW the segregation of the old South as a boy," King said. "I walked to the back of the bus, past all those empty seats up front. I sat in the back — but I left my mind on one of those empty seats up front."

"I decided that some day I would put my body up there in front where my mind was," King said. The gathering roared approval.

In his address at the Lockland church, King, stressed the Biblical passage referring to "knock on the door at midnight." He said it is midnight in the social order, individual life and in the church. He pinpointed the Vietnam war, the conflict in the Middle East, and the racial and housing problems in the United States.

King told his audience, "in America the white man and the black man must love each other because we are all tied together in a single-garment of destiny."

"Our white brothers must understand that we are too poor to keep having riots. The Federal government has enough money to get rid of slums and poverty, and of the conditions that make for riots."

"Our white brothers must see one thing," King said: "Negroes are in America, and are here to stay. We all have to learn to live together. The doctrine of black supremacy is as evil as the doctrine of white supremacy."

In his afternoon address at the Avondale church, King said the Negro must believe that "we are significant, and we have to do that for ourselves. Nobody can do it for us."

"THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION was fine," he said, "but in order to make it work, each Negro must declare his own emancipation proclamation within himself."

King told the church group that it is "sometimes difficult to tell a bootless man to lift himself up by his bootstraps, and there are many bootless Negroes in this country. But somehow we must keep trying."

"I believe that affection dwells in white and black alike," he said, and suggested that progress can be made if that is kept in mind.

King touched strongly on his often-repeated plea for non-violence.

"You may murder the murderer, but you can't murder murder. You can kill the liar, but you can't kill lying. You can kill a hater through violence, but you can't kill hate."

The minister, looking straight into a sea of well-dressed men, women and children, voiced a plea that Negroes not forget their own in the struggle for full justice.

"Many Negroes have moved into the main stream of life," King said, "and they tend to forget the stench of the backwaters."

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UPI-34

(KING)

BOSTON HEIGHTS, OHIO--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, YESTERDAY CHARGED CLEVELAND POLICE WITH "ALMOST GOADING" NEGROES INTO RIOTING.

HE CALLED FOR IMPROVED COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND THE ADDITION OF MORE NEGROES TO THE FORCE TO PREVENT SITUATIONS WHICH INVITE RIOTS.

THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AREAS OF CLEVELAND "ARE ALMOST MOVING TOWARD A POLICE STATE NOW," KING SAID. "YOU CAN'T HAVE A MEETING WITHOUT CLOSE POLICE SURVEILLANCE."

"WAGON LOADS OF ARMED POLICE WHO PATROL NEGRO AREAS AT NIGHT... GIVE THE IMPRESSION THE POLICE DEPARTMENT IS THE AGENCY WHICH KEEPS THE NEGRO OPPRESSED."

KING PLANS TO MAKE CLEVELAND THE "TARGET" CITY OF HIS SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) THIS SUMMER.

HE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE FRIDAY THAT WHEN HE RETURNS TO CLEVELAND NEXT THURSDAY HE WILL ANNOUNCE AN ECONOMIC BOYCOTT PROGRAM, AIMED AT COMPANIES WHICH DO NOT EMPLOY NEGROES.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-147

(KING)

CLEVELAND--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID TODAY HE WILL SEEK A MEETING WITH MAYOR RALPH LOCHER IF THE MAYOR DOES NOT INVITE HIM TO CITY HALL.

A MEETING BETWEEN KING AND THE MAYOR WAS URGED BY MANY CITY OFFICIALS AND LEADERS SINCE KING'S VISIT HERE LAST MONTH. AT THAT TIME LOCHER CLASSIFIED KING WITH FORMER ALABAMA GOV. GEORGE WALLACE AND FLOYD MCKISSICK, DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) AND SAID HE HAD NO PLANS TO MEET WITH "ANY OF THESE THREE EXTREMISTS."

THE MAYOR SINCE HAS REFUSED TO COMMENT ON WHETHER HE WOULD MEET WITH KING.

KING HAS BEEN MEETING WITH NEGRO LEADERS AT THE YANKEE CLIPPER INN IN NEARBY HUDSON TO PLAN A PROGRAM FOR THE NEGRO COMMUNITY.

JESSE JACKSON, ONE OF KING'S AIDES, SAID THE PROGRAM HERE WOULD ATTEMPT TO BUILD UP THE NEGRO ECONOMY. HE SAID IT WOULD INVOLVE THE HIRING OF NEGRO WORKERS, A CAMPAIGN TO GET THE PRODUCTS OF NEGRO COMPANIES ON SHELVES OF STORES, USE OF SERVICES OF NEGRO COMPANIES, AND THE DEPOSITING OF FUNDS IN NEGRO BANKS.

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55 JUN 20 1967

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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## Outlook for a Cool Summer

**THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING** gave Chicago a pleasant surprise last week, something that is not often his style. Dr. King praised the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities for its "hard and sincere work" in carrying out last year's summit agreement on fair housing, and said there would be no repetition of last summer's open housing marches here as long as progress continues at its current rate.

Speaking Thursday at a joint meeting of the Chicago Headline club and the Public Relations Society of America, King warned that progress under the agreement would be "under constant review"—as of course it should be. But he called it "one of the most creative steps in the nation toward making open housing a reality," and coming from Dr. King that is positive praise indeed. It will give the leadership council a significant boost, we believe, in carrying out its tasks.

This speech was one of several events that gave an encouraging outlook for progress on civil rights issues. Another was Mayor Daley's speech before a Democratic fund-raising dinner Thursday, in which he coupled a pledge of further gains with a blunt warning against violence. His administration will "battle for the rights of everyone," said the mayor, but added: "We will fight until the end for the preservation of law and order in our city."

This balanced approach, with the emphasis equally on progress and on civil order, is not only the best one; it seems to us the only one with much hope of success.

A further encouraging note was the adoption Friday by the Chicago region Parent-Teachers association of a report strongly favoring school integration, and setting forth short-range and long-range plans for conserving integrated schools. It's too bad that 50 delegates, most of them from the Bogan High school area, stalked out of the meeting in protest, but the PTA's action still should be of substantial help in approaching school problems.

Not all the news was bright in the civil rights area, of course. About 150 residents of the Lawndale area, representing the West Side federation, took time off from work Friday to attend a meeting of the city council committee on planning and housing, and were given an uncalled-for brushoff; the committee abruptly adjourned rather than discuss renewal plans for Lawndale with the group. This unwillingness to listen to the people most directly concerned in renewal planning seems to us a potentially dangerous problem. It certainly won't contribute to calm on the west side.

On the whole, however, the news from Chicago last week gave a hopeful slant on the coming months. We wish we could say the same for the news from Springfield, where legislators are trying to decide.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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9

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

5-29-67

Date: 3 STAR FINAL  
Edition:

Author: LLOYD WENDT  
Editor:

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: or 100-35356

Classification:  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

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JUN 10 1967

62 JUN 19 1967

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# RIGHTS GETS LAG, DR. KING REPORTS

## But N.A.A.C.P. Funds Rise, as Do Urban League's

ATLANTA, May 28 (AP) — The public opposition of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to the Vietnam war has cost the civil rights organization he heads some financial support, but he says that new contributors aligned with the peace movement have offset part of the loss.

Two other civil rights organizations, responding to a survey by The Associated Press, reported revenue on the rise; two others said that little cash had been added to their already depleted treasuries.

"We are in fairly good shape," Dr. King said, speaking of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"I think we are in a rather difficult period right now," said his executive assistant, the Rev. Andrew J. Young. "But we are not worried. We're getting along."

Mr. Young said support had fallen off among civil rights supporters who objected to Dr. King's linking of the movement with the protest against the war.

Dr. King's proposal that the two movements cooperate drew sharp criticism from some Negro leaders, notably Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. King has denied he wants a "mechanical merger," but he has said that Vietnam and civil rights are matters of conscience that tie together the two movements.

In a speech in New York on April 4, he denounced United States involvement in Vietnam and called for a unilateral cease-fire by the United States.

Now he has taken a leadership role in Vietnam Summer, a nationwide project to mobilize antiwar sentiment. He says the war effort has diverted both national attention and funds from civil rights and anti-poverty programs.

Dr. King said that generally the contributors he had lost were those who made \$5 donations while he had gained some \$500-a-donation supporters. However, neither Dr. King nor Mr. Young could, or would, provide details of the organization's financial condition.

The leadership conference had a record budget of \$1.5-million in 1965, but trimmed this to \$1-million in 1966. At Dr. King's suggestion, the staff was cut from 150 to 85. Most of the discharged employees were low-paid workers, some of them students.

"We're now running at the rate of about \$1-million for this year's budget," said the public relations director, Tom Offenberg. Generally, whatever comes in is spent, he said.

"While we're not in danger of going out of existence, neither do we have the money to do what we need to do," Mr. Young said.

Of the other civil rights organizations, the N.A.A.C.P., which is the oldest, and the National Urban League, the quietest, report improving financial support.

However, the foremost "black power" groups, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, still are struggling for money.

The student committee, which in the last year lost much of its college campus following, may have picked up additional support recently.

### Committee Is Silent

Its officials wouldn't talk to a reporter, but an informed source said the organization's money problems had been eased by Stokely Carmichael's college speeches and fund-raising projects. The source said a recent fund-raising affair in the home of a New York sculptor had produced "at least \$10,000."

"I don't think Snick is getting a lot of money," the source said. "But it is doing better."

However, Mr. Carmichael has been replaced recently as chairman of the student committee and it is not known if he will continue his fund-raising projects.

CORE's financial problems were illustrated dramatically on May 10 when Walter S. Brooks, its director in Baltimore, announced that his office was to be closed because there was no money to pay rent or utility bills.

In a handwritten news release, Mr. Brooks said CORE's 1966 target city project, aimed at Baltimore, was \$3,000 in debt and that his office had been self-sustaining since January.

CORE's national director, Floyd B. McKissick, charged that Mr. Brooks had spoken without authority and said the Baltimore office would not close.

But, Mr. Brooks said, "We have appealed to all but the racists, and now there is no longer electricity to run off this release."

In New York, Don Smith, the CORE public relations officer, said income had improved slightly in recent months.

### CORE Cuts Debt

By early May, CORE had reduced its indebtedness to about \$137,000, Mr. Smith said, compared to the \$400,000 debt of February, 1965.

"There may be reason for looking up," he said.

The projected spending of the N.A.A.C.P. for 1967 is \$1.9-million—about \$250,000 higher than last year. Over-all income has been about the same as in 1966, said John A. Morsell, assistant executive director.

However, there is a rise in at least one area. The N.A.A.C.P. said recently that its \$500 life memberships had grown from 14,001 in 1963 to 22,147 by the end of last year.

The Urban League has not been affected in its fund-raising

by either Dr. King's antiwar stand or black power; it opposes both.

Guichard Parris of New York, public relations director, said the league's income had increased.

In the last fiscal year, the league had an income of \$2.37-million, and it now expects an operating budget in the current fiscal year, ending June 30, of \$1.8-million, plus special project funds of about \$2-million, Mr. Parris said.

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*Dr. King*  
*E. J. Davis*  
*D. J. Davis*  
*W. L. King*  
*to*

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times *P. 15* \_\_\_\_\_  
World Journal Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
(New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date *5-29-67*

*100-106670-A-*

*NEW RECORDED*  
*173 JUN 7 1967*

*File 5-Dmd*

56 JUN 8 1967

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Hails Housing Council

By Christopher Chandler

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Wednesday praised the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities for its work in attempting to carry out last summer's fair-housing agreement.

In a wide-ranging policy statement that touched on the need for freedom-of-residence legislation in Illinois and civil rights activities planned for this summer, the Nobel Peace Prize winner for the first time publicly commended the work of the council.

### 'Creative Step'

"This is one of the most creative steps to make open housing a reality that is being taken anywhere in the country," Dr. King said, referring to the recently launched Project Good Neighbor and other efforts by the council to "make this housing agreement work."

Dr. King, when asked if he expected further street demonstrations for fair housing, said: "I do not believe in demonstrations for demonstrations' sake."

## Good Start, He Says

He continued that the future of public demonstrations depends on the action of the Leadership Council which he said had got off to a good start.

At the same time Dr. King charged the Chicago Board of Education has failed to cooperate with the federal government and called on the board to convene an emergency meeting and reconsider its refusal to allow

~~Good Neighbor~~ literature to be distributed through the schools and carried home by pupils.

### Asks Board Reconsider

"It is sad to say that the public school system lags far behind this effort, in its refusal to see its responsibilities and its vote not to have the literature passed out," Dr. King said in his address to the Headline Club at the Sherman House.

"I call upon the board of education, and the superintendent, to reconsider the matter with the full 11-member board present, to call an emergency session and look at this situation once more."

Board president Frank M. Whiston was out of town and unavailable for comment. Schools Supt. James F. Redmond said that while distribution of the leaflets had been voted down, a bulletin was going out to all schools Thursday concerning the program.

Dr. King said that education must teach the basic subject matter, but, he added, "it should also humanize us," and this, he maintained, the board has failed to consider.

### A 5-To-4 Vote

The school board voted 5 to 4 late Wednesday not to allow students to carry home Project Good Neighbor leaflets after a general resolution favoring the project was adopted.

Redmond raised the question of allowing the leaflets to be distributed after some debate and it was narrowly

defeated.

A spokesman in Redmond's office said on Thursday that a bulletin concerning the project, which includes a list of all radio and television programs involved, will be posted on school bulletin boards.

Principals are being asked to call the bulletin to the attention of their teachers, he added.

## Effort To Define

The main thrust of Dr. King's presentation was an effort to define what the civil rights movement must stand for in the coming years.

The first 12 years were used for the struggle to "get rid of legal segregation" in schools and public accommodations, Dr. King said. That first phase has "profoundly affected the total edifice of segregation," he said, but has now come to an end.

## Second Phase

The second phase will be the much more difficult effort to achieve "genuine equality," he said, which will require a "radical redistribution of economic and political power."

Dr. King devoted a large portion of his speech to decrying outbreaks of ghetto violence as "black suicide," and emphasized the need for cooperation between whites and Negroes. 100-1066

There can be no separate black ~~community~~ **NOT RECORDED** one thing that must undergird the civil rights movement is the mutuality of the destinies of white and black Americas."

## Describes Deprivation

Dr. King described the bitter deprivation of poor people

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Mr. Beach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. [unclear] \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. [unclear] \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Ch. Favel \_\_\_\_\_  
Frotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W. L. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Homes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

C. D. Rappaport

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

5-26-67

Date: /  
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL  
Author: CHRISTOPHER CH  
Editor: EMMETT DEDMON  
Title:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character: 100-35356  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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File: 51

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quality of the destinies

and black Americas.

## Describes Deprivation

in the nation's inner-city ghettos, noting that the deprived were Puerto Rican, Appalachian white and American Indian as well as Negro, and concluded that the goal of the civil rights movement must be to end this "other America of millions perishing on a lonely island of poverty amidst a vast ocean of prosperity. This is what the human rights struggle is all about," he added, "making America one."

The civil rights coalition in Chicago of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations will concentrate on "implementing the housing agreement" and "gaining jobs for the unemployed and the underemployed," Dr. King said.

The housing agreement was signed last summer after a series of marches led by SCLC and CCCO into all-white areas. Signing the agreement were civil rights leaders, Mayor Daley and other city officials, and business and religious leaders.



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.  
talks to the Headline Club.  
(Sun-Times Photo)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**NEWSLETTER TRIGGERS TEMPEST****Younger Wants FBI Probe of King**

Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R., San Mateo) said yesterday he will seek an FBI report on the Rev. Martin Luther King to support Younger's statement that "The Communist Conspiracy" may have been King's "first love."

That statement, printed in Younger's May newsletter, was condemned this week by Gerald N. Hill, president of the California Democratic Council (CDC). Hill called the statement a "smear" and said it was revolting and un-American. The congressman wrote this intemperate piece himself, upon him to withdraw his remarks; if it was written by a member of his staff, I ask Congressman Younger to repudiate it.

"The false charge that Dr. King has Communist sympathies has been exposed in the past as having been contained in a publication circulated by the Ku Klux Klan. We need not be contaminated by that in California."

Younger's home secretary, George A. McQueen, said yesterday that Younger is standing by the statement, and that he is prepared to support it with a request for FBI information if his critics are not satisfied with the House Un-American Activities Committee's material on the civil rights leader.

"If the material from HUAC is unacceptable to anyone as prejudiced," McQueen said, "Younger will ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation to supply him with authentic material on this matter."

McQueen said the FBI will not release such information to the public, but that a Congressman can request it "in cases of this nature, involving the security of the nation."

Younger's statement in the May newsletter was: "Now it comes out. It is both interesting and heartening to see the number of Negro leaders who have denounced Rev. King because of his change from the civil rights defense to airing his objection to the war in Vietnam."

"It seems to me that this change was inevitable since it permits him to return to what may have been his first love—The Communist Conspiracy."

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2 The Advance-Star  
and Green Sheet

Burlingame, Calif.

Date: 5-26-67

Edition: Fri.

Author:

Editor: Glenn E. Brown

Title:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character: SM-C

or

Classification: SF 100-528

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

REC-16

100-106670-A

NOT RECORDED

167 JUN 16 1967

51 JUN 20 1967

100-106670  
Jul 5



**By Jerry Lipson**

But, he rapped the board for its refusal to allow school children to arrive late.

taional Journalistic society, and the Public Relations Society of America.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

5-26-67

Date:

Edition: RED DART

Author: TERRY LIDSON

Editor: ROY M. FISHER

**Title:**

MARTIN LUTHER KING

**Character:**

or 100-35856

**Classification:**

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

100-106670-A-

**FIG. 2. REPRODUCIBILITY**

178 JUN 19 1967

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55 JUN 20 1967



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# King Denies Reds Inspire Peace Bid

FROGMORE, S.C. (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has denied accusations in a Freedom House paper that Communists influenced his antiwar movement. He says the charges have a McCarthy-like ring.

The Negro integrationist, who was criticized in a position paper by Freedom House for lending his "mantle of respectability" to a peace movement that contained "well-known Communist allies and luminaries of the hate-America left," said the charges were completely false.

He said Monday night from his retreat in South Carolina, "It is unfortunate that the Freedom House has allowed itself to become victimized by the same McCarthy-like tactics that darkened the soul of our nation a few years ago."

King said it is "totally untrue and unwarranted for anyone to give the impression that the mobilization was dominated by Communists or inspired by Communists."

Freedom House, established to enlist U.S. support against Hitler before the start of World War II, has among its directors such figures as former Illinois Sen. Paul Douglas, a Democrat; Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Sen. Edward Brooke, R.-Mass.

King, chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said his spring mobilization "was made up predominantly of patriotic Americans who, out of a deep love and concern for this nation, are gravely aware of the ominous proportions the war in Vietnam has reached."

King referred to the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R.-Wis.,

who launched a four-year investigation of alleged Communist infiltration into the government after accusing the State Department of harboring Communists in 1950. McCarthy was censured by the Senate in 1942. He died in 1957.

"I feel we are in a new McCarthy-like era," King said. "It is not this time one man but a conspiracy of silencing dissenters from high places."

The Freedom House paper said last Saturday, "It would be foolish and dangerous to ignore the Communists' participation or their rising hopes for exploiting King and other non-Communists for their own end in the future."

The paper supported the Johnson administration on Vietnam but also said the President has not been effective in presenting his own case in support of the war.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4A  
The Atlanta  
Journal  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 5-23-67

Edition: Final

Author:

Editor: Jack Spalding

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: ATLANTA

☒ Being Investigated

62 JUN 25 1967

100-786670-112-A-  
NOT RECORDED  
JUN 22 1967

100-106670  
Jul-17-67

# King's Viet War Stand Called Wrong by 73%

By Louis Harris

Today 73 per cent of the American people disagree with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in his denunciations of the war in Vietnam and 60 per cent believe his position will hurt the civil rights movement.

However, Negroes are by no means as united as whites in assessing Dr. King's efforts to mobilize much of his civil rights base behind the anti-Vietnam thrust. The largest segment of Negro opinion—48 per cent—believes that Dr. King is wrong in his Vietnam stand. But 25 per cent agree with the civil rights leader and another 27 per cent are reserving judgment.

No more than one-third of the Negro population is willing to endorse the view that Dr. King's foreign policy stand will hurt their struggle for opportunity on the home front.

These results suggest that Dr. King may well have within his power a capability of influencing between a third to one-half of all Negro voters behind a candidate he might endorse for President in 1968. It seems unlikely now that Dr. King will support Lyndon Johnson.

The opposition of King to President Johnson could have profound implications for the outcome of the 1968 race. In 1964, Mr. Johnson amassed 95 per cent of the Negro vote. Without this margin, the President would have won the election by a much reduced 54-to-46 per cent over Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee.

In a recent Harris Survey, Mr. Johnson drew even with Gov. George Romney of Michigan and maintained his lead over former Vice President Richard Nixon. Significantly, however, the President presently carries the Negro vote by a thumping 89-to-11 per cent margin.

In his most recent expression of views, Dr. King has said that only two candidates were acceptable to him today: Democratic Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York and Re-

publican Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois. Pressure from Dr. King could make the consideration of Kennedy for vice president on a ticket with Mr. Johnson a significant political factor, if it meant that 25 per cent of the Negro vote might hang in the balance.

The effect on the Republican side could be even more dramatic. If the hard-core King followers (almost none of whom voted Republican in 1964 or in 1966) were added to the 30 per cent GOP candidates were able to attract in 1966, it is then possible to envision a situation in which Percy could carry the Negro vote in 1968.

In turn, a Percy candidacy with such backing as Dr. King's would likely insure that former Gov. George Wallace of Alabama would remain in the race as an independent candidate for President. The latest Harris Survey shows that in three-way race against President Johnson and Gov. Romney, Wallace would receive 10 per cent of the total.

However, the significant part of the Wallace threat is that he could draw off enough Southern GOP votes to cost the Republican nominee the election.

If, as the candidate of Republican moderates, Sen. Percy could make anywhere near the showing of Gov. Romney in a two-man race against President Johnson, then, with Dr. King's support among Negroes, Percy might well be the only Republican able to win a three-man contest involving Wallace.

Such long-range possibilities could well come a cropper, for they do not take into account another critical fact of political life. The opposition of Dr. King to Mr. Johnson could produce unexpected support for the President from pro-Vietnam and anti-civil rights voting blocs to counterbalance his losses among the Negroes.

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Washington Post  
Dated 5/22/67

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191 MAY 29 1967

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56 MAY 31 1967

# CLEVELAND FEARS NEW OUTBREAKS AS IT AWAITS "NONVIOLENT ACTION" BY DR. KING

By PAUL HOFFMAN

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, May 20—An announcement by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. this week that he would start "creative nonviolent action" here June 1 has not allayed fears of new racial outbreaks in this tense city.

"If the city doesn't do its part, there'll be trouble and unrest," a militant Negro leader, Lewis G. Robinson, said today. "The whole Negro community will unite behind Dr. King, but the question is, what will the white community do?"

A Presbyterian, who is one of the few whites on speaking terms with Cleveland's black ghetto activists, the Rev. Charles W. Rawlings, appeared doubtful today whether Dr. King's program could "provide the massive political and economic organization that is needed."

Mr. Rawlings heads the metropolitan affairs department of the Greater Cleveland Council of Churches of Christ and has a reputation as a liberal, if not a radical. He declared that it remained to be seen whether Dr. King's program actually had the potential that was needed, "since the Negro people of this city and others like it are in very grave danger, perhaps the greatest danger since Reconstruction."

## 'We Need No Sermons'

In earthier language, a middle-aged Negro woman, Cynthia Johnson, remarked: "We need no sermons. If Mr. King brings jobs for our men and something to do for our kids—okay. If it's all talk, talk, there'll be trouble again, and we sure don't need more of that, mister."

Mrs. Johnson was standing in front of her wooden house on a side street off Hough Avenue in the 400-block slum on the northeast side, the scene of rioting last July, when four persons were killed and more than 50 injured.

"The other night my little boy needed cough drops, and I had to travel for two miles to get them," Mrs. Johnson complained.

Druggists and many other businesses have moved out of Hough after widespread looting in the wake of last year's disorders. The few remaining stores have grimly walled up their windows with plywood. Shattered plate glass and heaps of uncollected garbage still litter many alleys.

## 'Cleveland Cashah'

"This is Cleveland cashah," said a nurse who crosses Hough twice each day on the No. 38 bus to and from work in an East Side hospital. "The atmosphere in Algiers five or six years ago must have been similar—I'm just reading a book about the Algerian revolution."

The nurse said she sensed that tension in Hough was building up again. "It's just a feeling," she explained. "I can't prove it. Of course you've come to take for granted that whenever you pass Hough Avenue there'll be a fire and the firemen looking nervously around their shoulder for something to hit them."

Hough's many abandoned houses are favorite haunts of youthful loiterers and vandals. Blazes are frequent, as are robberies and burglaries. Policemen and firemen are often pelted with bottles and rocks.

An East Side city councilman and leader of Negro moderates, Leo A. Jackson, expressed, nevertheless, cautious hope today that Hough and Cleveland, in general, might be spared new large-scale violence this summer. "I'm not pessimistic. We have had some improvement," he said. "Negro ministers have spoken out against hoodlumism in the streets. More Negro policemen have been recruited."

## Directive From City Hall

Mr. Jackson, a Democrat like Mayor Ralph S. Locher, strongly upheld a month-old City Hall directive to the police to get tough with youth gangs that terrorize Hough and other inner-city neighborhoods. "That's

what the stable, decent Negro families want," the councilman said. There hasn't been a full-fledged test yet of the "get-tough" policy.

Mr. Jackson said he recently introduced to the mayor a delegation of 200 residents of the Glenville sector, a predominantly Negro neighborhood northeast of Hough, who presented a petition with 5,000 signatures, requesting a curfew on teenagers.

School principals, ministers, members of parents and teachers associations came to City Hall to demand this kind of enforcement our people insist on," the councilman said. The proposals would ban children between 12 and 16 years from the city's streets from 11 P.M. to 6 A.M., and children under 12 from dusk to dawn, unless accompanied by a parent or an adult guardian. The curfew request, which proposes fines between \$5 and \$25, is now being examined by the city's law department.

As for Dr. King, the councilman said, "I know him since I was a boy—we had the same teachers in Atlanta, we went to the same school." Nevertheless, Mr. Jackson seemed unenthusiastic about Dr. King's Cleveland project. "I honestly can make no comment until we see what he's going to do," Mr. Jackson declared.

## Dr. King Assailed

On the city's white West Side, the head of the North American Alliance of White People, Robert W. Annable, said: "Dr. King is an agitator, a trouble-maker nigger—go ahead and print this. He talks nonviolence, but wherever he goes violence follows."

Mr. Annable, who denies membership in the Ku Klux Klan—"But I know many in the Klan and have no quarrel with them"—is organizing anti-Negro activities out of his Lincoln-Jefferson Bookstore. He said he and friends were sponsoring a rally in the Polish National Home here Sunday "to unite our people" against the threat represented by Dr. King and the Congress of Racial Equality, another Negro group that also has designated Cleveland as a target city this year.

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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times 51  
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The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 5/21/67

Dr. King announced Tuesday that his Southern Christian Leadership Conference would start an "Operation Breadbasket" to organize Cleveland's Negro community along the lines of earlier projects in Chicago, Louisville, Ky., and Grenada, Miss.

Dr. King said he planned to spend at least every other week in Cleveland to help step up Negro political power, organize

Negro buying power, set up collective bargaining units of Negro tenants, press for open housing, and develop a full-service bank for the Negro community.

#### Fears Are Voiced

A local Negro moderate who insisted on anonymity, called Dr. King's program today "amateurish," asserting that it lacked the substantial funds and staff needed for attaining its goals. He voiced fears that Dr. King's efforts in Cleveland would "polarize" black-white differences.

The Negro population of Cleveland is about 300,000 and 50,000 live in Hough. This represents 35 per cent of the city's population. Hough and other Negro ghettos are ringed by unsympathetic neighborhoods of Poles and Italians.

Another community leader, who also asked that his name be withheld, found fault with Dr. King for relying on Negro ministers for his main support here. He called the ministers "the most reactionary element in the Negro community." However, this critic said that Dr.

King had attempted to involve in his project Negro activists like Mr. Robinson, whom a grand jury last year named as a prominent figure in the events leading to the July riots.

Mr. Robinson, a former housing inspector, was never indicted. He denied before a Senate Internal Security subcommittee earlier this month that he had instigated the Hough riots or taught Negro youths "to get all whites."

Another Hough militant who has endorsed Dr. King's project is the operator of a now-

closed Islamic Astrology Shop, Fred (Ahmed) Evans. Mr. Evans whose youthful key advisers are known as Ho Chi Min and Amir Rashid, appeared at Dr. King's side in pictures published by the local press this week.

Mayor Locher has declined to comment on Dr. King's program, and a City Hall spokesman today denied a report that a meeting between the two men was being arranged. "Let the confrontation with Dr. King come when it does," the spokesman said.

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# Rightist pressures fall flat; SRO for Aptheker at Loyola

By DON WHEELDIN

LOS ANGELES — Despite a concerted right wing campaign to prevent it, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Communist scholar, not only appeared at Loyola University, but was cordially received by an overflow audience.

More than 500 students and faculty members jam-packed every seat at the Catholic institution's St. John's Hall last Monday evening (May 15), with scores overflowing into the hallway and around the ground floor windows, to hear Aptheker lecture on "Marxism's Relevance to the United States Today."

Loyola officials acknowledged before the lecture that they had been under heavy pressure to cancel it. The Rev. Thomas Terry, academic vice president at Loyola, said hostile leaflets were distributed "at almost every Catholic church in Los Angeles." Loyola's president, the Very Rev. Charles S. Casassa, received hundreds of letters, protesting Aptheker's appearance.

Nonetheless, Loyola officials stood by the commitment to present Aptheker as the fourth in a series of lecturers on communism. The others had represented conservative or liberal viewpoints.

There had been right wing threats to surround the hall in a protest demonstration. But only 75 persons showed up, some with picket signs, and they milled about quietly at the campus entrance, some distance from the lecture hall.

Aptheker commended the students for "opening the dialogue" on Marxism with him and cited "the black pall of fear" that had prevented such a dialogue

between Catholics and Marxists sooner.

After his scholarly 45 minute address and a brief question period, Aptheker received sustained applause from the audience.

In his lecture, he stressed the interrelation of racism and war under capitalism as he hammered away at U. S. foreign policy in Vietnam and U. S. domestic policy vis-a-vis black Americans.

Apart from those key issues, Aptheker presented massive supporting data to indict U. S. monopoly capitalism for continued concentration of economic power, chronic mass poverty, and the growth of such symptoms of social decay as alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and mental illness.

"Because of the process of dehumanization through the ghettos and rapid social decay, our system has brought on a corresponding alienation from it," he declared, and listed such groups as the working people, youth, women, Negroes, and intelligentsia.

## FOCUS ON WAR

"We can and will only have socialism when a majority of the people want it so passionately that no force can stop them from having it," he said.

During the question period, only one faculty member—an expatriate Yugoslav priest—posed a question. He wanted to know of a four year sentence handed a writer for "defending free speech."

Aptheker said he was opposed to the sentence. He noted, however, that U. S. press reports stated that the charges were for "slander" in a CIA-supported publication, The New Leader. Also, he gave himself as an example of the lack of free speech here. He told of being unable to get employment at any of the American universities because of his politics.

Dr. Aptheker called for "massive unity of all people of good will" in the struggle for survival. Upon leaving, he said he would speak at Notre Dame University the following night.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 World Journal Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World *P. 12*

NOT RECORDED  
 191 MAY 29 1967

Date *5/20/67*

57 MAY 31 1967

*File*  
*100-123974*  
*5-10*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Dr. King Attacks Rent Subsidy Vote, Vietnam War

By JUDITH BRIMBERG  
Denver Post Staff Writer

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. swept into Denver Thursday afternoon, denouncing the House of Representatives for scuttling the rent subsidy program and equally critical of the administration's stand in Vietnam.

And although his brief visit to the city was for the most part uneventful, restless University of Denver students seized the opportunity to stage one of their almost annual spring demonstrations.

Although there was a scattering of boos during the Nobel Prize-winner's 90-minute appearance at the University of Denver Arena, for the most part, King was received enthusiastically.

However, about 8:30 p.m., while he was midway through his speech, students began burning crosses and old cars on the Intramural Field, about a block from the Arena.

## 2½-Hour Demonstration

Then, after King had left the area, some members of the audience and others joined at E. Evans Ave. and S. University Blvd. for a 2½-hour demonstration, which at one point had as its objective the taking of the Valley Highway.

Two participants, seen throwing firecrackers into the crowd of 500, were arrested.

In his speech, King told an audience of 2,000 that America never has been solidly committed to civil rights for Negroes and that the "white backlash" is just a new phrase for an old phrase.

He said a step forward usually has been accompanied by a backward step, noting that although the slaves were freed in 1863, they were left penniless and illiterate.

"There was freedom and famine at the same time," he declared.

Similarly, he continued, school segregation was declared unconstitutional in 1954, but, he estimated, it will take another 97 years to integrate the schools. Turning to a recent action, he said, "Yesterday, the House of Representatives voted the entire rent subsidy program out of existence.

"It was defeated by that same coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Dixiecrats," he said. "When they ask who starts riots in America, I will go down that roll and tell them," a remark which drew both applause and boos from the audience.

King said there is a need for vigorous civil rights legislation now.

"The problem of racial injustice isn't going to work itself out. We've got to get rid of the myth of time," he said.

## Cruel Jest

He observed that it is very well to say that a man is out to lift himself up by his own bootstraps, "but it is a cruel jest to say this to a bootless Negro."

The speaker said it will take billions of dollars to assure an adequate income for Negroes. "We have the money to do this. The question is, do we have the will?" he asked.

Taking up the war in Vietnam, King

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Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
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Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

15 The Denver Post

Date: 5-19-67

Edition: Home

Author: Judith Brimberg

Editor: Palmer Hoyt

Title: Racial Matters

Character:

or

Classification: 157-41

Submitting Office: Denver

[ ] Being Investigated

55 JUN 1 1967

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said this country spends \$500,000 to kill each enemy in Vietnam, while it spends only \$53 a year for every person characterized as poverty stricken.

At a press conference before his speech, King said he would have fought in World War II—had he been old enough—because of the threat posed by Hitler's Germany.

He feels differently about the Vietnam war. In response to a question at the DU Arena, he said he had considered asking that his draft-exemption as a minister be lifted so that he could actively express himself as a conscientious objector to the Vietnam war.

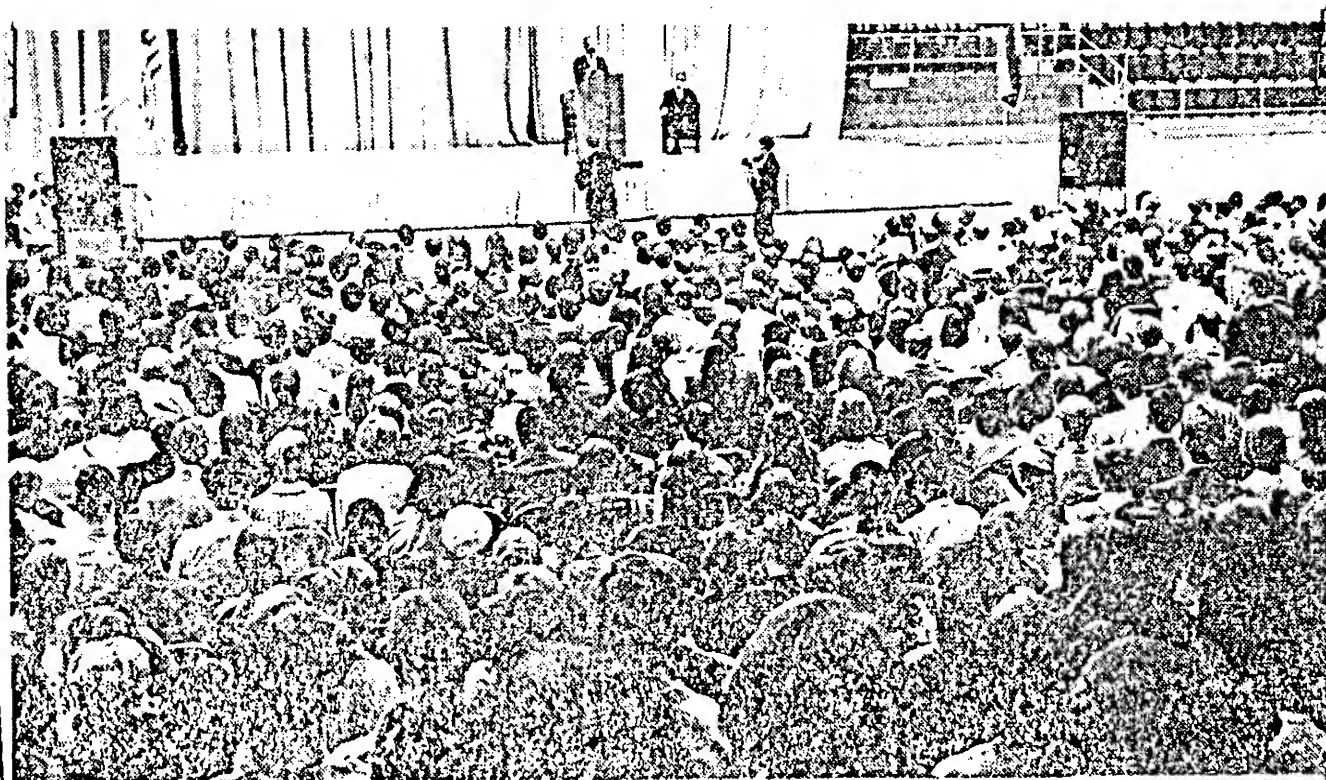
"I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America and I want to see our na-

tion stand as a moral example to the world," he declared.

Then, responding to an oft-repeated charge that his peace activities have hurt the civil rights movement, he said, "The war in Vietnam has done much more to hurt the civil rights movement than my stand against the war."

He urged students all over the country to engage in a teach-out movement this summer, saying the war must become an issue in the 1968 presidential election.

Acknowledging that his "dove-like" position is not accepted by the majority of Americans, King said he believed nevertheless that if there is a third world war, the present administration will have to assume the major responsibility.



KING ADDRESSES CROWD OF ABOUT 2,000 AT UNIVERSITY OF DENVER ARENA THURSDAY NIGHT.

Denver Post Photo by Bill Peters



"If we make the mistake of bombing population centers in North Vietnam, China may come in, and this will be the beginning of World War III," he declared. "I'm very worried where we are going. I think the clouds of World War III are mighty low."

In answer to a question, he predicted that 100,000 young men will be willing to go to jail rather than fight this war.

Turning to the prospects of a "long hot summer," King deplored the lack of creative planning during "the long cold winter." He said he is convinced that most Negroes know that their gains have been achieved through militant nonviolence, not riots.

"The Negro cannot win a violent revolution in America," he said, "and mass police repression won't deal with the problem either."

King was asked about a remark attributed to Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which labeled President Johnson a "buffoon" and recommended that Negroes shoot white police "who have been shooting us."

King said he knew nothing about Carmichael's statement and that he wouldn't call the President a buffoon nor "advocate shooting anyone."

King arrived at Stapleton International Airport at 5:25 p.m., accompanied by the Rev. Bernard Lee of Atlanta, Ga., an aide, and by David Halberstam, Pulitzer Prize winner who is writing a report on King for Harper's Magazine.

No Denver civil rights figure was at the

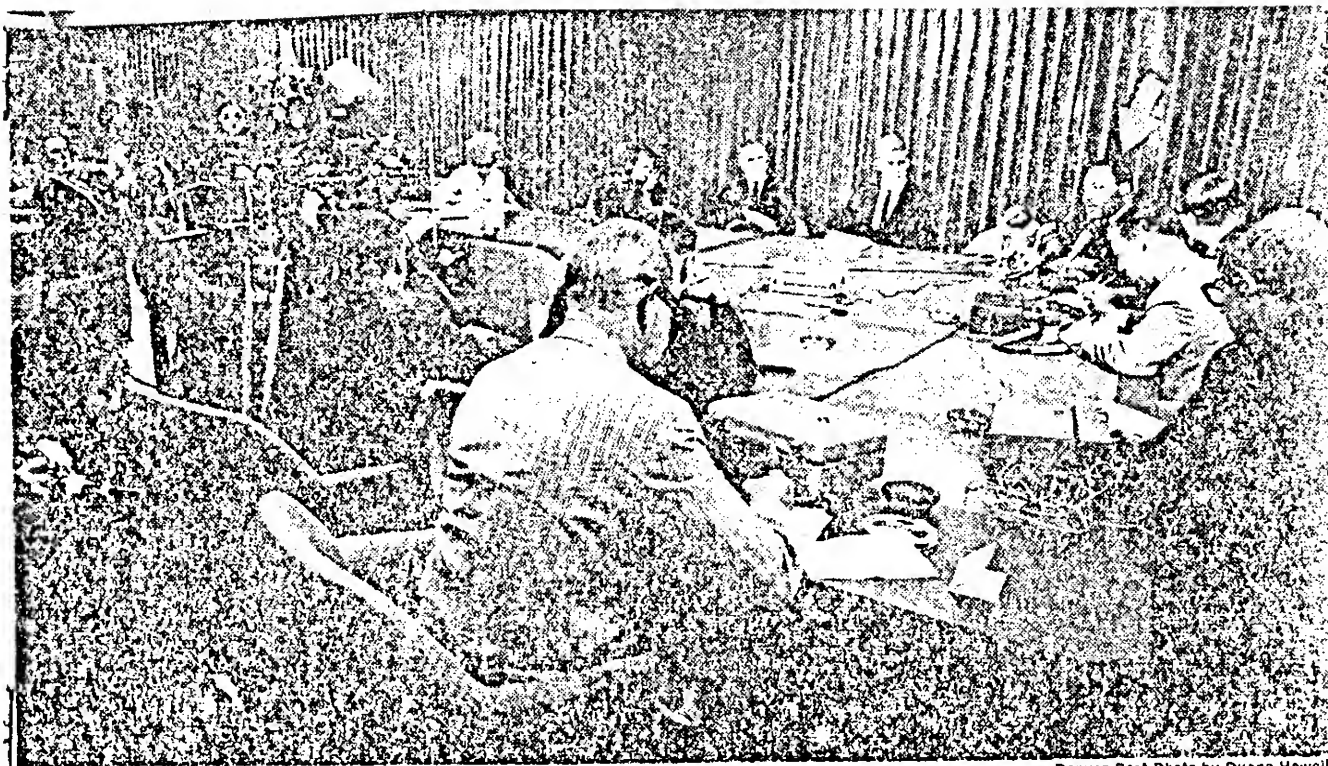
airport. However, during a brief stay at the Denver Hilton Hotel, King met with the Rev. J. L. Griffin, pastor of the Macedonia Baptist Church, the Rev. M. C. Williams, pastor of the New Hope Baptist Church, and with State Sen. George L. Brown, D-Denver.



Denver Post Photo by Duane Howell

**ANSWERING REPORTERS' QUESTIONS**

Civil rights leader at press conference.



Denver Post Photo by Duane Howell

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING (ARROW) HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE AT STAPLETON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## 1000 DU Students Run Wild After Dr. King's Talk

University of Denver students Thursday night rioted near the campus following a speech in DU Arena by Dr. Martin Luther King, pacifistic civil rights leader.

The youths set fire to several autos, clogged streets by marching about 20 abreast along E. Evans ave., S. University blvd. and onto the Valley Highway, police said.

Denver patrolmen, wearing riot hel-

metts and armed with shotguns and other crowd-dispersing equipment, quickly herded nearly 300 of the estimated 1000 demonstrators from the high-speed Valley Highway. The marchers retraced their route along S. University blvd. to stage a sitdown in the intersection with E. Evans ave. shortly before midnight.

Patrolmen at the scene said there appeared to be no particular reason for the Thursday night outburst. Demonstrators

yelled no demands, but participants tossed firecrackers, cherry bombs, water-filled balloons and eggs from the line of march.

Additional officers from throughout the city were sent into the Southeast Denver district. Lt. William Wiley, who commanded police action, summoned a canine corps officer who remained on standby at the District 3 Substation.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Wick  
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Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1, 5, 8  
C. D. Dennis  
ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

DENVER, COLORADO

Date: 5-19-67  
Edition: Home Final  
Author: Richard Tucke  
Editor: Jack Foster  
Title: Martin Luther  
King

Character: SM - C  
or  
Classification: 100-9045  
Submitting Office: Denver

☐ Being Investigated

100-106670-A  
NOT RECORDED  
176 JUN 20 1967

54 JUN 20 1967



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'Discrimination' In Vietnam War**Mrs. King Defends The Military**

By ROBERT JOHNSON

The Vietnam war effort represents a "form of discrimination against the Negro," according to Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mrs. King said here yesterday the discrimination is rooted in the civilian society of the United States and not its military system.

"It's a fact that more Negroes have volunteered for the service because they have no opportunities to better themselves in civilian life," she said.

Mrs. King is in Pittsburgh as soloist at the 60th annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention, which is being held at the Civic Arena through Sunday.

"The young Negro man has no place to get a job so he goes into the service to better his position," Mrs. King said.

"The large number killed in combat gives the impression that discrimination is being practiced by the military," she continued. "But the real problem is with society."

Mrs. King said she and her husband are trying to remedy this and other social inequities through "creative protest."

"Instead of going out on the streets and throwing rocks, we believe in organizing for non-violent protest," she said. "We don't feel there is any justification for violence."

Mrs. King and her husband plan to set up "workshops in

non-violence" in several cities this summer.

She said Negroes will be taught to "withdraw their buying power, demonstrate and picket."

She said the attitudes of her and her husband differ from those of other civil rights leaders, such as Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael.

"They have adopted a policy of retaliatory violence," Mrs. King said.

She also offered comment on the Black Muslims and defended their most controversial disciple, Cassius Clay.

"I think in the extreme sense, the Muslims stand for reverse racism," Mrs. King said.

"When the Muslims become too extreme, they become negative," she said. "They lose sight of the teachings of Mohammed, and what was intended as a religion becomes a cult."

"The Muslims are very strict morally," Mrs. King said. "For some people, this is necessary, it gives them stability."

Regarding Clay, she said, "I think you have to admire the man's courage, he gave up fame and fortune for a conviction."

Mrs. King conceded, however, there are some people who "might suspect there was some other motive than conscience" involved.



MRS. MARTIN L. KING JR.  
Clears the military.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

C.D. G. D. King  
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Pittsburgh Pr  
Pittsburgh, P  
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Date: 5/18/67  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: W. W. FORSTEN  
Title:  
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Character: RM  
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Submitting Office: Pittsb  
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56 JUN 14 1967

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UPI-94

(KING-CITIES)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. TODAY DENOUNCED THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION CUTTING RENT SUPPLEMENTS AND THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM AS A VOTE "TO KEEP SLUMS, TO PRESERVE POVERTY AND TO PERPETUATE BIGOTRY."

IN A STATEMENT RELEASED HERE BY HIS SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, KING SAID "MILLIONS OF POOR NEGROES AND WHITES HAVE BEEN SLAPPED IN THE FACE FOR DARING TO HOPE. THEY ARE NO LONGER BEING TOLD TO WAIT; THEY ARE NOW TOLD THAT THERE IS NOTHING FOR WHICH TO WAIT."

"WHEN THE QUESTION IS ASKED, WHO STARTS RIOTS? THE LIST OF THE TRUE INSTIGATORS CAN NOW BE EASILY IDENTIFIED IN THE ROLL CALL OF CONGRESS," KING SAID.

5/18--GE146P

100-106640-11-7 file

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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(Mount Clipping in Space)

# Dr. King To Expand His Program In North; Cleveland New Target

By Christopher Chandler

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. plans to expand his Southern civil rights program to include Cleveland, transplanting programs developed in Chicago to that city's troubled Negro district, Hough.

Dr. King told a press conference in Cleveland Tuesday that his Southern Christian Leadership Conference has picked Cleveland as a "target city" for SCLC organizing. He described the city, the scene of another outbreak of ghetto violence last month, as a "teeming cauldron of hostility."

SCLC officials said Dr. King will divide his time between the two Northern projects by spending four days in Chicago every other week and two days in Cleveland. He will commute to two Southern projects.

## Another 'Breadbasket'

The major SCLC project in Cleveland will be to set up another "Operation Breadbasket" under the direction of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, recently named Northern director of the project after it became the most successful SCLC program in Chicago.

"The program has sufficient latitude to the point where we can transplant it," said the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who is flying to Cleveland Friday night to lay out the program. "It will be our program there."

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said that part of the economic development program will be to

"open up distributors and franchises for Negro products from Chicago" and also to open up

markets in Chicago for products from Negro firms in Cleveland.

## 1,500 Jobs In Chicago

The Breadbasket program, involving picketing and boycotting of firms that refuse to negotiate for more jobs for Negroes and more display of Negro-produced products, has resulted in 1,500 new jobs and pumped \$11,000,000 in annual salaries into the Negro community in Chicago, according to the Rev. Mr. Jackson.

Dr. King was called into Cleveland after a Black Nationalist group and an organization of clergymen active in civil rights programs there became sharply divided over methods and goals, according to the SCLC spokesman. Both groups were able to unite under Dr. King's program for economic development, the aide said.

Dr. King told the press conference: "Now Cleveland has called upon us for assistance in their struggle against the evils of racial injustice and economic exploitation, Northern style."

He said a full-service bank was vital to the Negro community, "so that the citizens have ready access to the capital needed to improve their homes, their businesses and their lives without exploitation."

## Economic Basis

The Rev. Mr. Jackson elaborated on the economic basis of the SCLC program:

"We came to Chicago in search of the truth," he said. "We wanted to determine what forces create a slum. We

have found that here," he added.

"The mathematical formula for a slum is to be in capitalism without access to capital, whether you are a South Side black, a Cleveland black or an Appalachian white," he said.

"They don't even have a Negro bank in Cleveland," he added. "Negro businesses can only expand at the whim of the colonizer."

Dr. King announced the launching of the SCLC's first Northern project in Chicago in January of 1966. The SCLC led a series of fair-housing marches that culminated in last summer's "summer" agreement with city officials. No Chicago projects have been announced for this summer.

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

5-17-67

Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL  
Author: CHRISTOPHER C.  
Editor: EMMETT DEDMON  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
Character: \_\_\_\_\_  
or 100-35350  
Classification: \_\_\_\_\_  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

UNDER INVESTIGATION

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## Candidacy To Be Aired

The Ann Arbor Citizens for New Politics has designated its chairman, Dr. Bert Garskof, as its representative to a New York

meeting on supporting Dr. Martin Luther King for President in 1968. The local group also announced plans to construct a traveling puppet-theater for visits to various neighborhoods to present anti-war plays this summer.

The meeting is being held by William Pepper, executive director of the National Conference on New Politics. Also to be discussed is support of Dr. Benjamin Spock as King's running mate. Persons interested in helping with this project may write to Box 1466 for further information.

Mr. Tolson  
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Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

31 THE ANN ARBOR NEWS  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Date: 5-12-67

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: CITIZENS FOR NEW  
POLITICS

Character:

or

Classification: 100-34054

Submitting Office: DETROIT

[ ] Being Investigated

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HENRY J. TAYLOR

## Martin Luther King Is 'Out of Step'

When Dr. Martin Luther King forecasts "a long hot summer" of Negro demonstrations an ironic phenomenon boils behind the threat.

A clue comes in the storming of the Bastille. On July 14, 1789, France belatedly—91 years late—celebrated Bastille Day as a national holiday for the first time.

Only seven prisoners and an indolent jailer were in the Bastille when the demonstrators hit.

French statesman Alexis de Tocqueville, whose remarkable predictions about the future of our own country are classic, summarized the French situation:

"The prerevolution French found their position the more intolerable the better it became."

Psychologists express this same ironic phenomenon. They explain that many very poorly off persons are not frustrated—they accept their condition and rationalize it.

FOR EXAMPLE, anyone who knows Italy knows that for generations the Italians have made an art of their ability to deceive themselves; with millions it has been the only thing that kept them going. In fact, many Italians criticize us by saying that Americans are not prepared for pain and think we have a right to avoid pain, whereas Italians "know" that pain is a condition of life.

The psychologists' underlying observation is fundamental. It is that discontent is highest when conditions have so improved that poverty and misery no longer seem inevitable "Acts of God" and hitherto-dim objectives seem nearly within reach. In short, discontent and frustrations often grow when things turn for the better.

In our failure to realize that this applies within the Negro movement our diagnosis confuses cause and effect.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S program actually anticipated most of the civil rights

legislation that was passed through at least 1964. And, regardless of who claims the credit, surely the Negro in our country is much better off today than ever before. In simple truth, the Negro is much closer to full civil rights and other advances than any Negro leader would have thought possible only a few years ago.

Tocqueville knew what he was talking about. We are seeing a Bastille phenomenon all over again.

To survive the civic disobedience that so widely goes with this, however, we need still another clarification, and we are certainly not getting it from Dr. King.

King and many other Negro professionals who forecast "a long hot summer" equate Negro demonstrations with our entire Negro population.

YET NATIONWIDE independent polls unanimously confirm a totally different picture. The overwhelming majority of Negroes are sympathetic with the problems of law and order, scorn the charges of police brutality and want more police protection. Anarchy is what the Negroes fear, as do we all.

The polls make it equally clear that the overwhelming majority of Negroes remain unimpressed when Negro leaders tell them that because a famous ball-player such as Willie Mays, or entertainer like Sammy Davis Jr., has "made it," this should apply to each of them. Such orators encounter the Negroes' estimate of individuals.

Finally, when Martin Luther King or anyone else urges turning civil rights demonstrations into anti-Vietnam war protests, he again defies the over-all national sentiment.

Such polls as Dr. Gallup's report that only 10 per cent of our population favors civil rights demonstrations. And, even among this 10 per cent, only 1 in 10 is interested in demonstrating about the Vietnam war.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Cincinnati Enquirer  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Cincinnati Post  
16 Times Star  
Cincinnati, Ohio

The Citizen Journal  
Columbus, Ohio

Columbus Dispatch  
Columbus, Ohio

Dayton Daily News  
Dayton, Ohio

Journal Herald  
Dayton, Ohio

Date: 5/12/67  
Edition: 7 Star Final  
Author:  
Editor: Dick Thornhill  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification: 100-1470  
Submitting Office: Cincinnati

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56 JUN 8 1967

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Sen. Edward Brooke



Martin Luther King

# Brooke Says King's Stand On War Hurts Rights Drive

By ISABELLE McCAIG  
United Press International

Sen. Edward M. Brooke, the nation's highest elected Negro, seriously challenged Martin Luther King's stand on the Vietnam war today, claiming it was costing the civil rights movement valuable support.

In an interview with United Press International, the Massachusetts Republican, serving his first term in the Senate, said of King's attempt to tie the fight for Negro rights to antiwar sentiment:

"The civil rights movement should be pure. I think Martin is making a mistake, a tactical error that is strategically unwise."

As a Nobel Prize winner, King has the right to speak out on peace, in Brooke's view. "But I don't think he can afford the luxury or take the risk of championing too

many causes at the same time," Brooke added.

King's swing to an antiwar stance and his attempts to characterize Vietnam as a Negro war, "has been very costly," Brooke said.

"People are deserting civil rights because of the war."

"His advice as to a cease-fire, which means our troops would have to stop firing, is suicidal," Brooke said.

"His advice to young men not to obey the draft laws is dangerous. It unquestionably has hurt him and it unquestionably will hurt the civil rights movement."

Brooke said he does not question King's motives, "but his judgment."

"This is a time for sane, calm delibera-

See BROOKE, Page A-6

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 5-12-67

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176 MAY 22 1967

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**BROOKE**

## **Rights Setback Laid to King**

Continued From Page A-1

tions," he urged. "Inciting of violence is not going to bring about civil rights for the American Negro. It will not be won with bloodshed."

Brooke credited King's leadership of civil rights demonstrations as the forerunner of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But he blamed equally the change of direction in the movement for the defeat of the new civil rights legislation in 1966.

Brooke advocates exploring every possible avenue towards peace in Vietnam, but believes the Johnson administration must

have the money and troops to bring the war to an end.

"If there is a commitment and a need to supply troops in Vietnam to prevent the spread of communism, then this must take priority," he said.

"As a civil rights leader he (King) should justifiably be asking for funds for poverty and disease. I applaud this but he should make his case to Congress and to the people.

"I don't think he ought to equate it with the war. There may be other places we can cut spending such as the space program."

# A Role for King In Protest Politics

By Marquis Childs **A24**

United Features Syndicate

AS MAN and as symbol Martin Luther King Jr. is the center of a power struggle extending far beyond the deep divisions in the civil rights movement. At stake is no less than the shape of the anti-Vietnam protest movement—riot and blood in the streets or orderly dissent.

The decision King finally makes can shift the balance in the presidential politics of 1968. The intense debate that went on not long ago throws a revealing light on how much turns on the outcome of this struggle.

At the end of the debate King announced that he would not be a peace candidate for President next year as had been widely reported. It was a momentary victory for the moderates in the civil rights movement, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Roy Wilkins and others opposing the all out defiance of the black power leaders.

If you run on a third-party peace ticket you will elect Richard Nixon President of the United States, Rauh told King. That will be the end result of your crusade for equal justice for the Negro. This was, needless to say, a sobering thought.

No one close to the debate believes, however, that King's decision was final. He is under strong continuing pressure to head a third-party ticket on a peace platform with Dr. Benjamin Spock as the vice presidential candidate. Black power leaders Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and their followers tell him at every opportunity that it is his duty to give the American people a choice and not an echo.

THIS IS heady wine. Adulators insist that he and he alone can show the way to peace in Vietnam. At the very least, they argue, he can bring about the defeat of Lyndon Johnson for a second full term.

The last is the logic of the position of Rauh and the moderates. If the Republicans see that King means to head a leftist peace ticket they will be convinced they can win with Nixon who is the candidate of the hard-core pros in the Party. And in a climate heated by fierce dissension, as the war continues to escalate, King would in all probability take enough votes in the big-city states to put the Johnson ticket in grave jeopardy. He would get a much bigger turnout than did Henry Wallace in 1948 running on a left-wing, anti-war ticket.

In the complex struggle is an element often discussed in private but never mentioned in public. This is a rumored FBI report on King's private life derived from an electronic device placed in a hotel room. The FBI has denied the existence of any such report. Asked several times by reporters, King says he has never heard of it.

In December, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI chief, denounced King as "the most notorious liar in the country." Shortly afterward King called at FBI headquarters to meet Hoover. He had little to say when he came out and the report circulated that he had been confronted with the hotel-room recording. King denied that anything like this had happened.

Yet, like an uneasy ghost, the report will not die. On the day that King and Spock were to lead the massive anti-war demonstration in New York last month, the President let it be known at his Texas ranch that he was reading an FBI report on "anti-war activity." Among King's friends and followers were those convinced this was aimed at the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In recent weeks King has been following a moderate line. At Louisville a demonstration promising to disrupt the Kentucky Derby was called off after one of King's followers announced that an "urgent telephone call" necessitated canceling the planned march. Although it was denied that the call was threatening, again the rumor of pressure from Washington circulated.

KING himself says there were two good reasons for stopping the demonstration. One was the danger of a riot and the other was that the demonstrators would have been accused of disruption just for the sake of disruption and the cause of open housing in Louisville would have suffered. In an ad in the New York Times on Sunday, King joined with moderates calling for "a national citizens' signature campaign for new initiatives to end the war in Vietnam." The signers covered a broad range of religious and civic leaders.

That the Buddha-like figure of this once-obscure Negro minister with the voice that is a curious monotone should be cast up in the crucible of the civil rights movement to a balance of power role is a strange vagary of a strange time. Whichever road he takes the history books will have a lot to say about Martin Luther King.

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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald **A24** \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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(New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date **MAY 12 1967**

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# Rock Halts Dr. King's Parley With Hecklers

An attempt by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to talk with a group of white hecklers last night in Louisville's South End was cut short when someone in the crowd threw a rock which struck the car in which he was riding.

The incident occurred as about 70 open-housing supporters marched from Wyandotte Park up Taylor Boulevard and on Central Avenue for about an hour.

Dr. King, vowing South End marches will continue, returned to Louisville yesterday amid these other developments:

Agreement was reached in court

action to delay the trials of persons arrested in earlier demonstrations.

Open-housing forces will be allowed to march from the end of the evening

rushing hour, at 6 p.m., until 8:30 p.m. in an apparent relaxation of the ban on night marches.

In the incident last night, Dr. King's car stopped and he began to talk with

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky

Date:

5/11/67  
Morning

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Barry Bingham

Title:

Character:

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Classification:

157-40

Submitting Office:

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NOT RECORDED  
122 JUN 19 1967

56 JUN 20 1967

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File 554



a group of hecklers just before open-housing marchers were to leave the car after an otherwise quiet demonstration.

White teen-agers swarmed around the car, shouting and yelling.

"We've got to learn to live together as brothers," Dr. King said.

A boy replied:

"You're not my brother. My mother did not have you."

"I love you as I love my four children," said Dr. King. "You're going to grow up in a world that we're going to live together in."

Just then a sharp report was heard as the rock struck the car and ricocheted through the window. Dr. King and the other passengers, which included the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, one of Dr. King's top aides, the Rev. A. D. Williams King, Dr. King's brother, ducked and the car drove off. The Rev. Leo Lesser Jr., a member of the Committee on Open Housing, was driving.

#### Told to Move On

Dr. King had made one other attempt during the march to speak with the hecklers. After talking with a group of about 20 shouting young people for a few moments, police Capt. Raymond McDonald told the driver of Dr. King's car to move on because he was blocking traffic. As the car pulled away, several persons kicked it.

There were about 50 hecklers in all. A dozen police officers accompanied the marchers.

After the march, Dr. King went to Greater St. James AME Church, where he addressed some 400 persons. He appeared in the pulpit with a large rock clutched in his hand.

"We shall tell the young men and young ladies in the South End that upon this rock . . ." a burst of applause then broke out, ". . . upon this rock, we are going to build an open city and the gates of injustice will not prevail again."

Dr. King said that the rock thrown from the crowd "shaved my neck and the bottom part of my face, and it caused me to

start thinking about the importance of a rock.

Dr. King assured his listeners, "Don't worry. We shall transform the rock from a symbol of destruction to a symbol of salvation." He promised that the marches in the South End will continue every day.

Dr. King is to go today to address students at Indiana University and then to Chicago. However, the Rev. Mr. Abernathy is to lead a march on the South End beginning at 5 p.m. today at Southern Star Baptist Church, 15th and Magazine.

"The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is here to stay in Louisville and we're not going to get the hell out of town," Dr. King said.

This was an apparent criticism of a group of Negro clergymen led by Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker who opposed demonstrations.

#### Delayed Until June

Said Dr. King: "We have a commitment here. And the earth is the Lord's. It doesn't belong to any Negro who gets a statement written downtown and brings it back (to the Negro community)."

In the court action yesterday before U.S. District Judge James F. Gordon, it was agreed by open-housing advocates and city and county officials that the delaying of trials and later march deadlines were to be stop-gap measures until a three-judge federal panel rules on

the constitutionality of laws under which demonstrators have been arrested.

A suit charging unconstitutional enforcement in the open controversy was filed several days ago by 19 individuals and five organizations against eight Louisville and County officials.

A hearing on it had been set for 9:30 a.m. Saturday, but it was postponed until 9:30 a.m. Saturday by Judge Gordon "in order to give adequate time for preparation and determination." Attorneys for the demonstrators agreed to the postponement.

Until then, both sides agreed to

Cases of all demonstrators arrested for trial in Police Court will be continued until the federal panel makes a ruling.

Demonstrators will comply with Circuit Court restraining orders. It shall be amended to permit the march until 8:30 p.m. The ordinance limits marches to daylight hours, banning the morning and afternoon hours. The amendment defines the noon rush hour as ending at 1 p.m.

One person shall be designated grand marshal of demonstration and need not participate.

Demonstrators shall be entitled to a parade permit from the city. A federal court denies a permit for street repairs or other conditions.

Public officials may issue warrants, make arrests, admit to bail and execute all persons believed by them to be in violation of ordinances and laws. Final disposition of cases involving ordinances and statutes in question shall be handled in the normal course of events.

If a dispute arises between the sides, it will be submitted informally to Judge Gordon.

Earlier in the afternoon, Dr. King spoke to a gathering of open-housing supporters in a West End church. He told them, "We have got to keep on going in the drive for an open city ordinance."

Dr. King arrived in Louisville after 4 p.m. and went straight to Baptist Church, 2200 W. Walnut, to an open-housing workshop.

"There is no way to get open housing in Louisville but by creating a great that the community will have and will have to respond," he said.

Dr. King said open housing cannot be obtained nonviolently. Nevertheless, "We have to add powerful programs to our patient pleas. . . I plead with you to keep the struggle alive and I plead with you to keep the demonstrations alive."

"Sometimes you gain strength in moments when it appears that you are not quite going to make it. . . going to win in Louisville because it doesn't last always," he concluded.



Staff Photo by Charley Pence

**UPON THIS ROCK . . .** Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. holds a rock in his hand last night during a talk to open-housing supporters at a West End church. Earlier last night, a rock sailed into his car as he attempted to talk with a group of youthful hecklers.



# DR. KING DECLINES PEACE CANDIDACY

**Affirms Antiwar Stand but  
Won't Run for President**

By **WALTER RUGABER**

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 25 (The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reiterated his support of the peace movement today but announced that he would not be its candidate for President in 1968.

"I understand the stirrings across the country for a candidate who will take a firm, principled stand on the question of the war in Vietnam and the problem of the poor in urban ghettos," he said, "but I must also add that I have no interest in being that candidate."

He made the announcement at a news conference in the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where he is co-pastor. The Negro leader, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, had been urged to run for President by some leaders of the opposition to the war.

"I have come to think of my role as one which operates outside the realm of partisan politics," he said, "raising the issues and through action creating the situation which forces whatever party is in power to act creatively and constructively in response to the dramatic presentations of these issues on the public scene."

"I plan to continue that role in the hope that the war in Vietnam will be brought to a close long before the 1968 election, and that this present Congress will find both the courage and the votes to once again move our nation toward a truly great society for every citizen."

Dr. King's expanding interest in the peace movement has been criticized by other Negro leaders who fear that his antiwar activities will hurt the civil rights movement. One of them was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the United Nations Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

When Dr. King denied that he wanted to "merge" the two movements, however, Dr. Bunche withdrew his objections, and today Dr. King said that "privately" Dr. Bunche "absolutely agrees with my position on Vietnam."

He attacked Gen. William Westmoreland, the United States military commander in Vietnam, who said yesterday that antiwar protests encouraged the enemy.

"I think this sinister, evil attempt to confuse the minds of the American people must be stopped," Dr. King said. "What prolongs the war is not opposition to the war but our continued escalation of the war."

## Negro President Predicted

ATLANTA, April 25 (UPI)—Dr. King predicted today that a Negro could be elected President of the United States "in this generation" but he said it would not be he.

Responding to a question at a news conference, he said a Negro could be elected President "in the not-too-distant future, in this generation."

"The Negro vote in the not-too-distant future will be strong enough, taken with the liberal white vote, to elect a President," he said.

## Graham Criticizes Dr. King

PHILADELPHIA, April 25 (UPI)—Billy Graham said yesterday that he felt that Dr. King was "making a mistake" in "tying the civil rights movement with the anti-Vietnam demonstrations."

He said that Dr. King's position was "going to hurt the civil rights movement and give comfort to Hanoi that the United States is divided."



Associated Press Wirephoto

**WILL NOT RUN: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. at Atlanta news conference.**

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*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
J. Edgar Hoover  
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184 MAY 5 1967

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## Dr. King and A.D.A. Aide Form Group to Demand Vietnam Peace

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. joined leaders of various cultural and religious organizations yesterday in announcing the formation of a group demanding that the United States end the bombing of North Vietnam "now and without conditions."

At a news conference at the Biltmore Hotel, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, said that the new body, "Negotiation Now," would gather a million signatures on petitions to be presented to President Johnson by early summer. The petitions would also ask that:

1. The United States take further initiatives leading to a standstill truce.

2. North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front respond affirmatively to any new United States initiatives and join with the United States in a standstill cease-fire.

3. South Vietnam join in these steps.

### Skirts Political Issue

Dr. King skirted all questions on his political ambitions but said he would hold a news conference today. He has been mentioned as a possible independent Presidential candidate on a peace platform in 1968.

Calling the recent bombing of MIG bases in North Vietnam "tragic," Dr. King said:

"The constant escalation of the war can only lead to tragedy for all of us. It can mean nuclear war and the annihilation of the human race."

Asked why the bombing should be halted when previous attempts had brought no response from Hanoi, Dr. King said he believed North Vietnam would now honor a cessation of bombing.

He said he based his belief on the "opinions of Secretary General U Thant and responsible observers who have visited North Vietnam."

He said the peace demonstrations in this country had not hardened the attitude of North Vietnam, as some political observers have maintained.

"The bombings are hardening these attitudes," he said.

Other members of the forming group are Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew

Congregations; Gerhard Elston, director for Vietnam Affairs for the National Council of Churches; Philip Baum, executive director of the American Jewish Congress; and William J. Butler, general counsel for SANE.

Mr. Rauh described "Negotiation Now" as a three-part nationwide campaign to persuade President Johnson to end the war.

He said it comprised:

1. Collecting the signatures on petitions.
2. A state-by-state "count-down" of local delegations of major business, labor, religious and other leaders who would come to Washington in late spring to lobby their Senators, Congressmen and Administration officials for new American peace efforts.
3. A national education drive to inform Americans that the war could be "ended honorably and within a reasonable period of time."

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## New Worry for LBJ:

## Dr. King for President

WASHINGTON—Moderate civil rights leaders and top-level Democratic party strategists confess privately a deep concern about the possibility that Martin Luther King may run for president in 1968 on a peace ticket.

Influential White House advisers, in fact, have urged President Johnson to confer with King secretly and attempt to extract from him an early commitment of support for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. These advisers believe that only in this way can King be deflected from pursuing a course they fear might cripple the civil rights movement and weaken the President's own bid for re-election.

Such is the consternation in the Democratic party that a national pollster had begun a survey to evaluate the potential impact of a third party led by King. And a number of prominent leaders in labor, civil rights and Democratic politics have tried to dissuade King from considering such a candidacy.

King has listened passively to pleas from UAW President Walter Reuther, Pacifist Bayard Rustin, Urban League President Whitney Young, Democratic National Committee Deputy Chairman Louis Martin, and others. But to none of them has King revealed his long-range goals.

\* \* \*

A KING-FOR-PRESIDENT campaign, most political experts believe, would rely for votes upon white liberals, white pacifists, and the activist fringe of Negro youth. One Democratic strategist estimates that King might pull perhaps 10 per cent of the Negro vote, or approximately 600,000. To that he might add another half million votes from whites opposed to the war in Viet Nam.

There is no evidence to indicate that King could inspire a mass exodus of Negro voters from the Democratic Party. He has been sharply rebuked for his anti-war stance by most Negroes prominent in public life, bishops of the two largest Negro church movements, and major Negro publishers, all of whom support the President.

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In the past, third party movements have held no appeal for vast numbers of Negro voters; in Chicago, for example, comedian Dick Gregory recently campaigned as an independent against Mayor Dick Daley on an open housing issue and drew only 2 per cent of the Negro vote.

King himself has never been a political leader and failed abysmally in his only attempt thus far to arouse Negroes in the northern ghettos, an open housing campaign in Chicago last year.

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IN FACT, at least one Democratic pro believes a King candidacy could actually help President Johnson. He argues that with King on his left and George Wallace on his right the President will emerge as a comfortable middle-road moderate on civil rights. This presumably would encourage so-called white backlash voters who rebelled against the administration's civil rights programs in 1964 to return to the Democratic column.

That view may comfort a few Democratic officials but most remain nervous about losing even a single Negro vote. The importance of the Negro vote, after all, has always been based not upon its numbers but upon its concentration in the northern urban centers, where it has often supplied the necessary margin of victory to carry the big states for the Democratic Party.

The desertion of several hundred thousand Negroes could severely erode the President's strength, particularly in states such as New York where white liberals could be expected to swell the King total.

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The desertion of several hundred thousand Negroes could severely erode the President's strength, particularly in states such as New York where white liberals could be expected to swell the King total.

# King Asks 10,000 to Join Summit Antiwar Drive<sup>AS</sup>

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. (UPI) — Conceding it would cost him support of some whites, the Rev. Martin Luther King yesterday called for 10,000 volunteers to force an end to the war in Vietnam in a summer campaign patterned after the civil rights movement.

Amidst conflicting reports that he plans to run for the presidency in 1968, King told a news conference here yesterday, "We seek to defeat Lyndon Johnson and his war."

King said he would make a "final announcement" concerning his political plans today.

Flanked by pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock and Robert Scheer, editor of Ramparts magazine at a news conference, here King said:

"Many people voted for President Johnson because he represented restraint. But now Johnson is acting like Barry Goldwater."

Chester Hartmann, an assistant professor of city planning at Harvard, acting as executive director of the "Vietnam Summer" project, said 10,000 persons would be sought to work in 500 cities mobilizing opposition to the war.

Hartmann said a cadre of Harvard students and faculty members would begin recruiting volunteers across the country in a few weeks.

According to Hartmann, the organizers would seek to form anti-draft leagues, buy advertising, boycott companies and influence local political committees to oppose the war. The campaign, he said, would be

patterned after the civil rights drives of the summer of 1964.

"We must build a powerful and well-informed peace bloc to stimulate activity to end the war," King said. "The time has come to meet the escalation of the war in Vietnam with the escalation of opposition to that war."

He said the war was "poisoning the soul of our nation."

"We are sabotaging the self-determination of the people of Vietnam, we have destroyed the Geneva accords," King said.

"I have never advocated a mechanical merger of civil rights and peace organizations, but they are inextricably bound together."

In answer to a question, King said, "I never said I would run for president or had the desire to run. Politics is a strange territory to me. I never thought of myself as moving into that arena."

"My attack on Vietnam will cost me white support," he said. "But I'm not a consensus taker. A great leader does not seek consensus, he molds it."

Speaking in New York yesterday, Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., said a recent flag-burning, coupled with statements by Negro civil rights leaders, had virtually killed chances to pass civil rights legislation now or in the immediate future. The Associated Press reported that Celler, who heads the House Judiciary Committee, said statements by King, Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick "have injured severely the civil rights movement."

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DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING



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# 'Liberalism' and Political Profit

**D**R. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S 100,000 anti-war rally in New York is par for the course, burned draft cards and all.

For political profit, the politicians have been pandering to the pitchmen and angle players so long that even Martin Luther King has been repeatedly honored as if he were a completely honest and honorable man.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. gets a Pulitzer Prize, albeit his usual fairness and scholarly objective is typified in a book review describing Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Little Schlesinger describes this magnificent holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor as "wearing his patriotism on his sleeve," charges him with "messianism and paranoia" and speaks with contempt of "his ham eloquence."

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SEN. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, who, like little Schlesinger, saw World War II far away from the battlefields, serves as a surrender salesman in the Senate to enhance our country's wisdom and the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Bobby Kennedy, with his hair cut like "Second-Hand Rose," caught red-handed by the wire-tapping orders he endorsed, is so used to his own sustained duplicity that he will but call J. Edgar Hoover a liar. Bobby for President of our country?

And all of them are called liberals. Along with so many others, including Stokely Carmichael and even Adam Clayton Powell.

Is it any wonder that the national air is contaminated by the odor of MacBirdism?

Are the "rights" of trouble-makers more important than the sufferers? "Above all rights rise duty to the community," said Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

In the capital of the nation, walking after dark near

the Capitol is extremely dangerous. Assaults constantly take place. By the word's derivation, a president is someone who sits at the head of the table. Yet LBJ himself vetoed the D.C. crime bill.

The editor of Washington's neighboring North Virginia Daily, alert but not malicious, began collecting a few sentences from news stories originating in Washington, and also reached out to New York City:

"Teachers have gone on strike saying their lives are not safe in the classrooms and corridors. . . ."

"If strike comes off, all buses will be immobilized. . . ."

"Eighteen persons saw the crime, but refused to come to the girl's assistance. . . ."

"Businessmen threaten to move; say conditions intolerable. . . ."

"Police called reinforcements when rioters threw ~~rocks~~ from rooftops. . . ."

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THE SUPREME COURT'S continued twisting of the Constitution and the statutes is making a shambles of government by law in our country. The end-product of this process pursued for welfare state purposes, and civil rights within it, can only be anarchy, with consequent loss of the freedoms which are the supposed goals of judicial law-making.

In the national life of our great country we are elevating the mediocre, the image-makers, and many plain charlatans as well. And we are conned by a "liberalism" that is not liberalism at all.

Meanwhile, we contemplate healing the world when we are not decently governing ourselves. If our ability to rule ourselves grows worse, we shall one day face the rule of some chosen "strong man" after a sufficient number of internal riots and external wars.

That's history. We deserve better.

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 PROVIDENCE, R.I. (UPI)--THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID SUNDAY HE DID NOT BELIEVE HIS OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM WOULD HINDER THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. "MY FAILURE TO CAMPAIGN FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT WOULD DO MUCH MORE HARM THAN MY CAMPAIGN," HE SAID IN A SERMON AT BROWN UNIVERSITY.

WHILE KING DID NOT DISCUSS THE 1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, A GROUP OF STUDENTS DISTRIBUTED "KING FOR PRESIDENT" LITERATURE OUTSIDE SAYERS HALL, WHERE HE CONDUCTED MORNING WORSHIP SERVICES.

IN HIS HALF-HOUR SERMON ATTENDED BY SOME 800 PERSONS, KING PARAPHRASED THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW AND ASKED "WHAT DOES IT PROFIT A NATION TO GAIN THE WHOLE WORLD AND LOSE ITS SOUL?" "THIS BLOODY, TRAGIC, COSTLY WAR CAN DESTROY THE SOUL OF THIS NATION. IF THE SOUL DIES THE AUTOPSY WILL READ 'VIETNAM,'" HE SAID. KING WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT CAMBRIDGE, MASS., SUNDAY AFTERNOON TO LAUNCH A NATIONWIDE VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# DR. KING UPHELD AS CRITIC OF WAR

Rabbi Notes Rights Leader  
Received Nobel Prize

By GEORGE DUGAN

A New York rabbi defended yesterday the right of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to speak out against the war in Vietnam as well as for civil rights.

In recent speeches and statements, Dr. King has linked opposition to the Vietnam war with the cause of Negro equality in the United States. Reaction has been divided, with many of Dr. King's supporters taking issue with his fusion of what they consider two separate problems.

Preaching yesterday at Beth Am, The People's Temple, 71 Thayer Street, Rabbi Israel Margolies reminded worshippers that Dr. King was a past recipient of the Nobel Peace prize.

"To suggest, as some do now," Rabbi Margolies said, "that the recipient of that coveted award has no right to oppose our deepening involvement in a bloody and brutal war against people of color, is to deny Dr. King that which is not only his right as an American citizen, but his duty as a man of God."

If Dr. King were white, the rabbi said, "no one would question the logical compulsion of

his simultaneous dedication both to the civil right movement and the cause of a negotiated peace in Vietnam."

It is "sheer arrogance and folly," he went on, to isolate religious and moral considerations from political action.

"The time has long passed," he said, "when it was perfectly permissible to trot religion out occasionally just for the purpose of placing a halo around either the domestic or the international status quo and make those who support religious institutions feel smug and sanctified."

"Religious leaders everywhere, and especially Dr. King, will never again countenance or condone a secular society which leaves the agonizing issues of violence and war, bigotry and exploitation, poverty and ignorance, untouched and unassailed by religion."

Linked to Gandhi

"We must never again permit the militant faith of the prophets to be perverted into a comfortable, play-it-safe religion, which turns its back on the collective concerns of humanity."

Rabbi Margolies said Dr. King had inherited the mantle of the late Mahatma Gandhi as spokesman for nonviolence.

Quoting from Gandhi's autobiography, "Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means today," the rabbi asserted:

"In the face of growing racial tension within our country and mounting military violence abroad, Gandhi's words have an imperative meaning to the vast majority of spiritual leaders of all faiths."

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CROSBY S. NOYES

## Anti-Communism Not an American Monopoly

When it comes to sheer self-conceit, our liberal-minded friends are hard to match. To hear them tell it, the United States not only bears an exclusive moral responsibility for everything that happens in the world but also has a virtual monopoly on stupidity.

From here it follows that whenever anything unpleasant happens anywhere, the fault is to be found in the depravity of our souls or the willtlessness of our leaders. The thought that forces for good or evil exist outside the limits of American society and beyond the reach of American power apparently never occurs to them.

This is particularly true when it comes to our dealings with the Communist world. So far as most liberals are concerned, anti-communism is strictly an American invention. From their arguments one would gather that all resistance to communism in the world is inspired if not actually created by the United States.

Thus the Rev. Martin Luther King sees us as "in the tragic position of having a paranoid fear of communism—an almost sick, morbid anti-communism which can be as destructive as anything." This

affliction, in Dr. King's view, has led us into a number of disastrous errors, including of course our involvement in the war in Vietnam.

Dr. King is by no means alone in this judgment. A good many other people, including U.N. Secretary General U Thant, have on occasion accused us of waging a "holy war" in Asia. A persistent theme among the ranks of the New Left on Capitol Hill holds that our resistance to communism, rather than any threat from the Communists themselves, represents the real threat to peace in the world.

In all this the glaring fallacy, it seems to me, is the attempt to portray the average American as a fear-driven, compulsive ideologist, intent on driving the world to destruction in the name of some Birchite-inspired crusade. The truth is that Americans as a whole make very indifferent anti-Communists, compared to a good many other people around the world who have learned about communism the hard way.

American anti-communism is a pallid sentiment measured against the convictions of people who live somewhat

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closer to the real thing. A person living in West Berlin or a refugee from Eastern Europe would have a hard time understanding the "paranoid fears" that are supposed to assail us. A Korean, a Filipino, a Thai, an Indonesian—or a Vietnamese—might not be easily convinced that his own anti-communism was something invented by misguided Americans and imposed on him.

Such people would also be likely to dispute the notion, so popular with the American peace lobby, that if it were not for the United States, they could all be happy little Communists, free to develop along lines of their own choosing untrammelled by "alien" influences. They might even question the proposition that Asia's Communists are really good-hearted nationalists, or that their time-tested methods of seizing and holding power really offer the people what Dr. King refers to as "a right to choose their own system."

The liberals—if this is the right tag—are entirely free to argue if they wish that what happens to Asians, or anybody else, is no concern of the United States. They can also contend that whatever we do

in Vietnam, the Communists are certain to win in the long run. These views, if not admirable, are at least honest.

But let us, brethren, in the name of simple honesty, stop denying the validity of even the existence of any anti-communism in the world other than the brand invented by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. Let us face the fact that hundreds of thousands of quite ordinary people have fought and died—with or without our help—in resisting this system that is equated so glibly with "self-determination."

These people and not we, Dr. King, are the real anti-Communists. If they have been afraid, it is not because they were sick or morbid or paranoid but because they wanted to survive.

Our choice has been whether to help them or abandon them to regimes which, for all their diversity, have always and everywhere used repression and terror as the primary instruments of their authority. It's quite true, of course, that if it weren't for the United States the rest of the world might well be Communist. But how moral—and liberal—would we consider ourselves then?

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## Vietnam Demonstrations Resented

The "Vietnam Day" peace demonstrations last week have failed to change the feeling in Congress — particularly in the Senate — about the war in Vietnam and the bombing of targets in North Vietnam. All of "King's army," as it paraded in New York, San Francisco and other cities has not shaken the overwhelming support for President Johnson's policies in Vietnam. Rather, it has increased that support.

A significant happening, although not connected directly with the peace demonstrations, was the announcement by Senator John D. Pastore, D-R.I., that he now supports the President's conduct of the war. Last December, Pastore called for a halt in the bombings of North Vietnam as an avenue to peace talks. This week, in an interview, the Rhode Island senator said, he had changed his mind. The exchange of letters between President Johnson and President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, in which Ho turned down flatly an offer by Johnson looking to peace talks, was an important factor in Pastore's change, reducing still further the small band of critics of the President's stand in the Senate.

The excesses of the demonstrators in the peace marches — burning an American flag and burning 15 or more draft cards, displaying Viet Cong flags, declarations of support for Communists fighting U.S. armed forces — have aroused disgust and deep resentment.

The fact that plans for "Vietnam Day" and peace demonstrations in the cities had originally been drawn by Communists and their supporters in this country was recently developed by the House Un-American Activities

Committee. It is presumably contained, too, in a report to the President by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI. All this has played a part in further negating the influence of these demonstrations. Although the idea for the demonstrations originated with Communists, the movement was more recently completely taken over by the Rev. Martin Luther King and pacifist organizations.

Police protection was thrown about the demonstrators in New York, San Francisco and other places against all hecklers and anti-demonstration groups. With a single exception, no arrests have been made of draft card and American flag burners. The single exception was the arrest in Chicago of Gary Rader of Evanston, Ill., who wore a Special Forces uniform. He and other demonstrators threw their draft cards into lighted soaked sand during the rally in New York. Rader said he was demonstrating particularly against the draft, which he had avoided by enlisting in the Special Forces in September 1965. He left active duty in January and is now in the reserves. Desecration of the American flag is against the law — and also the burning of draft cards.

It is bad enough to read of tearing and burning an American flag in Paris during the recent visit there of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. To have a flag burned in public in New York City — and not a hand raised to stop it or any punishment to follow — is not making the peace demonstrators popular with a vast number of American citizens. It should bring shame even to the pacifists.

Dr. King, winner of a Nobel Peace Prize, is not turning

away from the peace movement he ostensibly heads any of the rabble of beatniks, draft-card burners, howlers like Stokely Carmichael who demand "black power" and urge a national drive against the military draft and who call the President of the United States a "buffoon" and worse.

Dr. King has declared the demonstrations a magnificent success. He is planning, he says, other demonstrations and marches. He is calling upon college students throughout the nation to organize communities against the Vietnamese war.

The anti-war demonstrations were organized to the Nth degree. Train loads and bus loads of demonstrators went from Washington, from Boston, Philadelphia and many other cities to converge on New York. How many were paid demonstrators is not known. Someone was paying the bill. In many cases the individuals paid their own way.

The contingent from Boston included some prominent clergymen and college professors. Six hundred strong, it rode in 14 chartered buses. They left from Freedom Square in Cambridge. While they were waiting for the buses to arrive, students in Waverly Mall staged a counter demonstration. They hung out an American flag and a banner reading "American Over All" and played a record of Kate Smith singing "God Bless America."

Harvard University police ordered the students to stop playing the record and to take down the banner. The students stopped the record but left the flag on its staff. "We'll be damned if we will take the flag down", a leader of the counterdemonstration said.

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## Dr Spock in 1968?

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Baby doctor Benjamin M. Spock said today the peace movement "almost inevitably" will have a 1968 Presidential candidate and that he "would not refuse" the nomination if offered at a national convention of Vietnam war critics.

Plans for such a national convention of peace and civil rights groups to be held in September in the Chicago area were disclosed today by William F. Pepper, executive director of the National Conference for New Politics. Mr. Pepper said the convention is being called to organize political action for 1968 and perhaps nominate a national ticket.

He said his board has appropriated \$100,000 to try to elect Democratic convention delegates opposed to nominating President Johnson because of his Vietnam war policies.

At least two speakers at last Saturday's peace rally in New York — Mr. Pepper and Boston University Prof. Howard Zinn — advocated a 1968 ticket of Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Spock. Their candidacies also are being promoted on bumper strips.

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## Dr. King to Visit Jordan, Israel

NEW YORK, April 20 (UPI) —The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. will make a pilgrimage to Christian shrines in Jordan and Israel next November, preaching on the Mount of Olives and by the Sea of Galilee, it was announced today.

The Rev. Dr. Sandy F. Ray of Brooklyn's Cornerstone Baptist Church, who initiated the pilgrimage idea, said peoples of all nations, races and faiths were invited to participate in the pilgrimage.

He said Dr. King had been urged to visit Jordan and Israel by leaders of both nations, who are planning official receptions for him.

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## Report King Will Lead Pilgrimage

Dr. Martin Luther King was reported today to be making plans to lead a pilgrimage of as many as 2,000 people to the Holy Land in Israel and Jordan this November.

The announcement was made by the Rev. Dr. Sandy F. Ray, pastor of the Cornerstone Baptist church in Brooklyn. Dr. King could not be reached for comment.

Rev. Ray said a group of ministers from Brooklyn traveled to Israel in 1965, and were very impressed by what they saw.

As a result of the visit, the ministers decided to organize the pilgrimage last year and asked Dr. King to lead it.

Rev. Ray said the trip would probably take place during the first two weeks of November.

Dr. King is scheduled to address multi-racial interfaith services in both Israel and Jordan. The announcement said the Nobel Prize winner would speak on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem Nov. 14 and by the Sea of Galilee Nov. 16.

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JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

# Dr. King Makes a Mistake

The Rev. Martin Luther King has said confidently that the Negro has become a horrible casualty of the Vietnamese war. But the Rev. Martin Luther King doesn't know what he is talking about. The relatively full employment that is now the condition of the American economy is opening up opportunities for the Negro community that would otherwise not be there.

Has Dr. King looked recently in the direction of the Watts area of Los Angeles? When H. C. McClellan's Management Council for Merit Employment, Training, and Research found jobs for 12,000 Watts Negroes after the riots, there were cynics who said the full story wouldn't be told until after the count of firings, dropouts, and absenteeism had been made.

The University of Southern California Research Institute for Business and Economics, however, finds that the Watts Negroes have established a remarkable record in industry over the last year. Judging by a sample poll, two-thirds of the Negroes hired after the riots still are employed by the firms that originally hired them, and half of these either have been promoted or have had pay increases.

## The Record Is Bright

Of the remaining one-third, about half have changed jobs, frequently bettering themselves. The rest have slipped back into unemployment, some of them to return to school.

Some 65 per cent of the Negroes who have benefited by the McClellan group's drive to



John Chamberlain

eradicate Negro unemployment have improved their status vastly. Since there is so-called "frictional" unemployment in any group, the fact that 15 per cent of the McClellan-placed total are industrial dropouts is not too significant. None of those who quit or were laid off gave discrimination as a reason: one man frankly blamed himself for "sleeping on the job," others stopped working because of pregnancy, or because of "domestic problems."

The experience of the 2,500 companies who agreed to cooperate with the McClellan council has been helpful. Some of the companies now are questioning the necessity of requiring high school diploma certification for new employees. Other companies are revising their ideas about testing.

## Job Training Is Key

Where Negroes say that lack of education, lack of training, lack of skill, and lack of qualifications have been holding them back, they are pointing to conditions that do indeed need the application of some of that money which Dr. King sees as going down the Vietnamese drain. But training on the job is one of the most infallible ways of producing new skills.

When Dr. King made his get-out-of-Viet Nam speech, another Negro, Dr. Thomas Matthew, accused him of impugning the patriotism of the American Negro community. Dr. King, said Dr. Matthew, has become "the Sukarno of the American Negro."

The Negro problem primarily is an unemployment—or, rather, an underemployment—problem. Dr. King hardly will keep his leader... Negro community unless he recognizes what they are.

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# **Magazine Endorses King's Peace Stand**

CHICAGO, April 18 (UPI)—Christian Century, a leading non-denominational Protestant weekly, has endorsed in its current issue the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's controversial participation in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

King has been criticized by some civil rights leaders for his protests against the war.

In an editorial in its April 19 issue, the magazine said, "as a civil rights leader King is not only committed to helping the Negro; he is committed also to the motto of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: 'to save the soul of America.'" King is president of the SCLC.

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**56 MAY 8 1967**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*

TO : The Director

DATE: 5-21-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page S5588. Senator Byrd, (D) West Virginia, spoke concerning the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations held in New York and San Francisco. He also commented on the speech made by Martin Luther King before the New York demonstrators. Mr. Byrd stated "In addition to Dr. King and his traveling companions in the civil rights movement, who need cash and a wider opportunity to exploit racial tensions, the demonstrations were guided by the masterminds of the WEB DuBois Clubs, long known to the FBI as being communistic in purpose and organization, and by their allies, including avowed Red leaders from student groups on campuses such as that at Berkeley, Calif. These demonstrations were eagerly participated in by hipsters and drug users from city slums, by a collection of society's misfits, and by misguided do-gooders used as fronts by the Communist planners."

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 5-21-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were referred for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

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(BUNCHE)  
 LINCOLN, NEB.---UNITED NATIONS UNDERSECRETARY RALPH BUNCHE SAID TODAY  
 HE HAS SETTLED HIS DIFFERENCES WITH CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER MARTIN LUTHER  
 KING JR.  
 BUNCHE CRITICIZED KING LAST WEEK FOR ATTEMPTING TO TIE TOGETHER  
 THE CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORTS AND ANTI-VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN THIS  
 COUNTRY. HE SAID IT WOULD HURT THE NEGRO'S CAUSE.  
 "I HAD A PHONE CALL FROM HIM (KING) AND HE ASSURED ME THIS WAS NOT  
 HIS INTENTION," BUNCHE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE. "HE SAID HIS  
 POSITION ON VIETNAM WAS DICTATED BY HIS CONSCIENCE AS A DEVOUT CLERGYMAN  
 AND IT WAS NOT HIS IDEA TO TIE THE TWO TOGETHER. THAT SETTLED THE ISSUE."  
 THE 1950 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER WAS IN LINCOLN TO ATTEND A  
 UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA CONVOCATION.  
 HE SAID THERE HAS BEEN NO EVIDENCE TO DATE THAT THE CONTINUED  
 U.S. BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM WOULD BRING AN END TO THE HOSTILITIES IN  
 THE SOUTH.  
 "THERE SEEMS TO BE NO CHANCE OF GETTING TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE  
 WHILE THE BOMBING CONTINUES," BUNCHE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



# Political Parade . . . . . By David S. Broder

## Another 1948?

THE DEMOCRATS who have been talking about President Johnson as another Harry Truman may have a chance to prove their point.

It is now something better than a 50-50 bet that Mr. Johnson, like Mr. Truman in 1948, will face a double splintering of his party. The new "Dixiecrat" rebellion will be led by George Wallace of Alabama, the peppery little "leatherlungs" who has succeeded Strom Thurmond as the South's leading shouter against "Federal tyranny," i.e. integration.



Broder

The Henry Wallace role of 1968 is as yet uncast, but there is increasing evidence—particularly after last Saturday's "peace marches" in New York and San Francisco—that the dissenters on Vietnam, backed by the more radical of the civil rights leaders, will form a new version of the "Progressive Party" to harass Mr. Johnson from the New Left.

As in 1948, the attack from both flanks has the potential either to defeat the Democratic President or to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Wallace, who is coming North this week to publicize his cause on "Meet the Press" and test the climate in a speaking tour of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, is a lot slicker than Thurmond was in 1948.

In that year, Thurmond's "States Rights" ticket was on the ballot in only 12 states. It carried four of them—Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina—receiving 1.2 million votes and 38 electoral votes.

BY STARTING earlier, Wallace should be able to get on the ballot in more states than Thurmond, and

draw substantially more votes.

Wallace's greatest appeal is presumably in the Deep South states that might otherwise take out their displeasure with the Democratic Administration by voting Republican. It can be argued, therefore, that his candidacy is more of a threat to the GOP than to President Johnson. Most Republicans view it in precisely that light.

A "peace" candidate would be something else. The dissenters on Vietnam are chiefly liberal Democrats, and are concentrated in precisely the big electoral-vote states a Democratic President must carry if he is to win.

Henry Wallace received only 1.1 million votes in 1948, but almost two-thirds of them came from New York and California.

The Wallace vote cost Mr. Truman New York; it shaved his margin in California to 18,000 votes, in Ohio to 7000 votes.

A last-minute effort that kept Wallace off the ballot in Illinois was all that allowed Mr. Truman to win that state by 33,000 votes. Had Illinois, California and Ohio gone Republican, Thomas E. Dewey would have been President.

Worried Democrats note that Wallace was running as a critic of Mr. Truman's "cold war" policies at a time when no American soldier was under fire and at a time when the Democratic organization was far healthier than it is today.

If the "peace" partisans can muster a prestige candidate and the Vietnam war is still going its frustrating, inconclusive way, in 1968, the threat to Mr. Johnson from the Left could be serious. The threat would be all the greater if that candidate turns out to be someone with appeal to the discontented of the ghettos, whose numbers would add

weight to the largely intellectual and middle-class protest on the war.

NO ONE fits the description better than Dr. Martin Luther King. And that is why, from the White House down, Democratic politicians have watched with apprehension his increasing involvement in the "peace" movement.

Dr. King's lieutenant, the Rev. James Bevel, who organized last Saturday's Mobilization for Peace, is blamed by many Democrats for spurring the vote boycott in Negro wards of Chicago that helped defeat Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D) last November. They fear he would like to put his peculiar talents to work in dumping President Johnson next year.

The possibility of Dr. King lending himself to such a plan is ironic. In 1960, he made a major if unplanned contribution to John F. Kennedy's election by finding himself in a Southern jail shortly before election day. Kennedy's phone call to Mrs. King—widely publicized among Negroes—is credited with shifting vital votes to him in closely-contested northern states.

In 1964, when a Republican National Committee staff member tried surreptitiously to launch a write-in campaign for Dr. King as a way of drawing off votes from President Johnson, the civil rights leader was quick to denounce it.

Now Democrats are wondering if he will volunteer for the spoiler's role in 1968 that he rejected in 1964.

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## KING WARNS CITIES OF SUMMER RIOTS

Civil Rights Leader Terms  
New York One of Nation's  
10 Racial 'Powder Kegs'

By DOUGLAS ROBINSON

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. warned yesterday that at least 10 cities across the country, including New York, could "explode in racial violence this summer."

Describing the cities as "powder kegs," he said "the nation has not done anything to improve conditions in these areas."

"I'll still preach nonviolence with all my might, but I'm afraid it will fall on deaf ears," he said.

Dr. King, speaking at an impromptu news conference, included among the cities Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, Calif., Washington, Newark and New York. He said there were other cities, which he did not name in the South.

The civil rights figure, who led a massive antiwar demonstration here on Saturday, said any outbreaks in New York could occur in either Harlem or the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

Last summer, there were racial disturbances in Chicago,

Cleveland, the San Francisco Bay area, and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Dr. King said he was particularly fearful of possible riots in Southern cities. "We haven't had any riots in the South yet, and conditions are intolerable down there," he said.

"I'm sorry to have to say this," he went on, "but the intolerable conditions which brought about racial violence last summer still exist."

### Assails Crowd Estimate

Dr. King challenged a police estimate that between 100,000 and 125,000 people took part in the rally outside the United Nations building here Saturday.

"I have no quarrel with the police estimate," he said with a slight smile, "just an absolute denial of the accuracy of it."

Dr. King, who said he had been taking part in demonstrations for years and had had wide experience in estimating the size of crowds, "perhaps more experience than the New York police," declared: "There were fully 300,000 and perhaps 400,000 people in the demonstration."

"I spoke to as many of 125,000 persons in the United Nations plaza," he said, "and then I went back to Central Park. There were that many people still marching."

"Too often we find that when there is an issue that the police or the press are against, they play down the number of people involved. When it is an issue they favor, they add to the total number."

Deputy Police Commissioner Jacques Nevard, who is in charge of police press relations,

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said yesterday that "we certainly won't get into any discussion of the figures."

"We issue no official figures in the first place," Mr. Nevard commented. "Reporters simply know that police officers will very often make unofficial estimates."

Speaking of the demonstration, Mayor Lindsay, in his weekly radio broadcast over WNYC last night, praised the police for the "superb way they handled this rather difficult problem."

"There were a few minor instances of disruption, but they were not serious," he said. "Only in New York City could you handle a group of over 100,000 with that ease."

Dr. King decried a disclosure by George Christian, White House press secretary, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was keeping an eye on "antiwar activity."

He termed any investigation of the peace movement "totally unnecessary," and added that "the people protesting the war by and large are patriotic Americans."

#### Talks About Communism

"There are 15 million Americans who actively oppose the war and millions of others who are not in sympathy with it," he said. "I challenge anybody to say that all these people are Communists."

Later in the day, in an appearance on the National Broadcasting Company program "Meet the Press," Secretary of State Dean Rusk said the "Communist apparatus" was busy in support of antiwar demonstrations. He added: "But I do not mean to say by that all those who have objections to the war in Vietnam are Communists."

Earlier, speaking on the Columbia Broadcasting System

program "Face the Nation," Dr. King declared that he was philosophically opposed to communism.

He said: "I think it is based on a metaphysical materialism, at points an ethical relativism, a crippling totalitarianism in many instances and a denial of human freedom that I would not prefer."

He also disassociated the sponsors of the antiwar demonstration from the burning of draft cards and an American flag. He said the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which organized the rally, could not "condone" such actions.

Meantime, most of the thousands who came here from out of town for the demonstration had left the city. In many cases, the special trains and chartered buses that brought them here from such points as Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago, left Saturday night.

There were still some visitors, however. At noon yesterday, in the Sheep Meadow in Central Park, where thousands had milled Saturday before the peace parade started, a baseball game was in progress.

Anshel Bruston of Cincinnati, who was catching for one team, said, "We're all playing before we go home."

"It's Cincy versus Detroit," he explained, adding that all 15 persons playing had been in the march. At the time, Cincinnati was leading 7 to 1 in the bottom of the fifth, with Detroit at bat.

# Find Concern Mounts Over Peace Parades

By RICHARD BARR  
and TOM COLLINS

World Journal Tribune Staff

Critical concern was mounting today as reactions to the mass peace demonstrations in New York and San Francisco Saturday raised a continuing debate on the propriety and effect they may have on the Viet Nam war and the civil rights movement.

In Saigon, former vice-president Richard Nixon today criticized Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the New York march, for doing a disservice to the civil rights movement and said the Communists are encouraged by what he called a minority of persons in the United States.

Nixon spoke before leaving for Jakarta on a round-the-world tour after spending four days in Viet Nam.

## OPINION DIVIDED

But opinion was divided and Sen. Jacob Javits of New York told the World Journal Tribune, "I don't think it has the effect on our foreign policy that Secretary Rusk and Mr. Nixon says it does.

"Nor do I think it will prolong the war. These people have the absolute right to express their feelings. I applaud the fact that there was no violence, but the draft card burning was most reprehensible."

Yesterday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in a television appearance, expressed the fear that, "The authorities in Hanoi may misunderstand this sort of thing, and the net effect of these demonstrations will be to prolong the war and not to shorten it."

Rusk also said, "I have no doubt at all that the Communist apparatus is very busy indeed in these operations all over the world and in our own country, but I don't mean to say by that that all those who have ob-

jections to the war in Viet Nam are Communists."

On Saturday, White House press secretary George Christian revealed that the FBI was looking into "anti-war activity," but did not elaborate.

Dr. King took issue with all the critics yesterday declaring, "I don't think the Communists play any significant part... the people protesting the war are by and large patriotic Americans."

King refused to "condone" the draft card burning which some of the demonstrators took part in as the crowds massed on the Sheep Meadow in Central Park previous to the march to the United Nations.

He also disputed the unofficial police estimate of 125,000 persons in the march and claimed that the "Stop the Bombing" demonstration drew "300,000 to 400,000, perhaps more."

Some 60,000 were said to have taken part in the San Francisco march but King said the figure was closer to 75,000 to 80,000.

## WARNS OF RIOTS

The Nobel Peace Prize winner also warned that 10 cities across the nation are "powderkegs" which may explode into race riots this summer.

"I'm sorry to have to say this, but intolerable conditions which brought about racial violence last summer still exist... I'll still preach non-violence with all my might but I'm afraid it will fall on deaf ears," he said.

Among the powderkeg cities King listed Chicago, Cleveland, the bay area of

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California, including Oakland, New York, Newark and Washington.

The peace demonstrations apparently have changed few minds among the nation's legislators nor will they alter President Johnson's conduct of the war.

"I think its disgraceful," Sen. James O. Eastland, D.-Miss., said of the marches.

#### CALLED DEPLORABLE

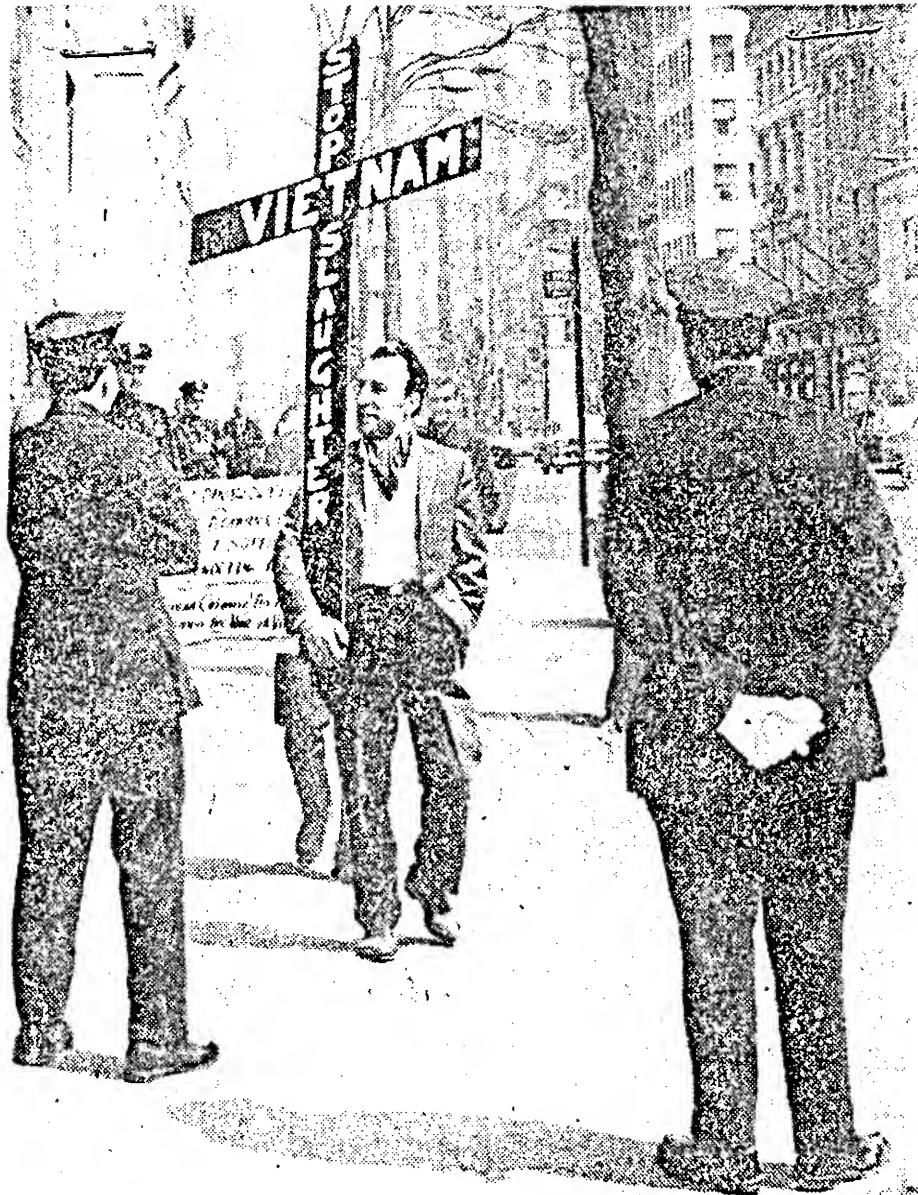
Rep. Emanuel Celler, D.-Bklyn., said of the demonstrations, "While they are legal, they are nonetheless deplorable. They give the impression that the people of the U.S. are not supporting the President in the war effort.

"The people do support the President."

Celler attempted to put the marches in historical perspective saying, "During the Korean War the demonstrations were just as great.

"During the Civil War they played hell out of Lincoln right here in New York. But he held fast.

"President Johnson must hold fast—and he will. There is no doubt that great propaganda will be made out of this and the pictures in the press."



Associated Press Photo

Anti-war march moves in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral

# King Sees No Choice of Action

By RICHARD STARNES  
Scripps Howard Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 17—"My pilgrimage of conscience on Vietnam," said Dr. Martin Luther King, "began in 1965, when I made my first strong statement on the war."

"The President called me on the telephone and asked me if I wouldn't talk to Ambassador Goldberg about the war."

Dr. King held a wedge of lemon over a cup of tea and squeezed it until there was nothing left but pulp and rind. "I told him I'd be glad to do so, and I did."

Dr. King's voice is soft, but compelling in its intensity. The bitter controversy that has erupted over his anti-war stand has left him outwardly unmarked; his face is a brown, unlined buddha's mask. In an interview in a 33rd floor suite at the Hilton Hotel here, he continued:

"Neither President Johnson nor Ambassador Goldberg could persuade me I was wrong."

"In December, I took two months off to write a book. It's to be called 'Where Do We Go From Here?' and it'll be published in May by Harper and Row. I went to Jamaica to write it, and I spent a lot of time there in prayerful meditation. I came to the conclusion that I could no longer remain silent about an issue that was destroying the soul of our nation."

"It is an unjust war. It is diverting attention from the terrible, urgent social problems that need to be solved here at home. I became convinced that the United States could not continue to escalate the war in Vietnam and still prosecute the war on poverty and injustice here at home. It isn't that we can't afford to do it, it is simply that we won't. Where your heart is, there your money will go."

## PEACE SPEECH

He points to a television receiver where he's been watching a re-run of his Saturday peace speech at UN Plaza.

"The police estimated the crowd at 125,000, but we've seen lots of crowds, and it was more than that. There must have been between 300,000 and 400,000. We had a good 300,000, I'm sure of that."

"I see no contradiction in civil rights workers speaking out on the war. Great moral issues are indissoluble. In my case I've been preaching non-violence for years. Wouldn't it be inconsistent for me not to speak out against the war in Vietnam?"

But what of the fear expressed by other Negro leaders — that identifying the fight for equality in the United States with an anti-war stand will cost the civil rights movement important support?

"My view," Dr. King replies, "is that, as we started to move from the struggle against legal segregation into the infinitely more difficult area reaching toward genuine equality, many people who had once been with us started to hold back. These people will use any excuse for their inaction."

T. S. Elliott wrote that 'the greater heresy is to do the

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right thing for the wrong reason.' Those who now say we're going too fast, or we shouldn't speak out against the war, never did support us out of any deep moral commitment to justice and equality, but perhaps out of some vague feelings of guilt.

"Now we're moving into an area where it'll cost the nation something. We can't solve the problems of the cities without spending billions. We were going to lose the summer soldiers, anyway. My view is that their support isn't worth anything. Those who seize on the excuse of our pacifism to abandon us would have done it, anyway."

What of critics who bridled at what appeared to be his placing of sole blame for the war on the United States? At what appeared to be his comparison of U.S. activity in Vietnam with Nazi atrocities in Europe?

"We initiated the buildup of this war," Dr. King has previously replied to these criticisms, "and we must make the initiative to end the war. I'm not whitewashing Hanoi. I am a non-violence believer."

#### SOFTENED

He also softened his allusion to Nazi atrocities, but insisted "we are testing new weapons. We are using napalm. Everybody knows that."

"Those who say in the civil rights movement that we have no right to speak out on Vietnam are just foolish. There isn't any reason to merge the two movements, no plan to do that."

"What concerns me so much about the war is that it shows how much we need a radical reordering of our national values. If we don't restructure our thinking on the revolutions that are sweeping the third (uncommitted) world today, we will face many more Vietnams. We will face them in Latin America."

"In Africa we may place American Negroes in the terrible position of being asked to fight against other black men. Our defense against communism can't be in guns and bombs. Our greater defense is in our power to remove poverty and disease from the face of the earth. I see our greater opportunity as the chance to lead the third world out of poverty and ignorance."

"The war in Vietnam has strengthened the forces of bigotry and reaction. It has caused many young people to become disenchanted with our society. The failure to solve the problems of our cities will only exacerbate the situation, and give the extremists on both sides a much more receptive audience."

"Polarization of the race question in the United States won't merely mean outbreaks of violence. It will mean outright race wars in some of our cities."

Altho he had just made an impassioned speech to a rally whose number was somewhere between 125,000 and 400,000, Dr. King was poised and unruffled.

"The main thing is not how long I live, but how well I have acquitted myself in the discharge of those truths that are high, noble and good."



# KING SAYS HE TOOK STAND ON VIET IN '65

By RICHARD STARNES

World Journal Tribune Special

"My pilgrimage of conscience on Viet Nam," said Dr. Martin Luther King, "began in 1965, when I made my first strong statement on the war."

"The President called me on the telephone and asked me if I wouldn't talk to Ambassador Goldberg about the war."

Dr. King held a wedge of lemon over a cup of tea and squeezed it until there was nothing left but pulp and rind. "I told him I'd be glad to do so, and I did."

Dr. King's voice is soft, but compelling in its intensity. The bitter controversy that has erupted over his anti-war stand has left him outwardly unmarked; his face is a brown, unlined Buddha's mask. In an interview in a 33rd floor suite at the Hilton Hotel here, he continued:

"Neither President Johnson nor Ambassador Goldberg could persuade me I was wrong."

But for whatever reason, his opposition to the war remained muted for more than a year.

"I spend a year in Chicago," he noted, "living in the ghetto, preaching non-violence. Time after time, more and more often, people came to me—young people particularly—and asked me 'what about Viet Nam? How do you reconcile Viet Nam with a philosophy of non-violence?'"

A Negro waiter wheels a table in, and greets Dr. King effusively. When the waiter leaves, the civil rights leader continues:

"In December, I took two months off to write a book. It's to be called 'Where Do We Go From Here?' and it'll be published in May by Harper and Row. I went to Jamaica to write it, and I spent a lot of time there in prayerful meditation. I came to the conclusion that I could no longer remain silent about an issue that was destroying the soul of our nation."

"It is an unjust war. It is diverting attention from the terrible, urgent social problems that need to be solved here at home. I became convinced that the United States could not continue to escalate the war in Viet Nam and still prosecute the war on poverty and injustice here at home."

"I see no contradiction in civil rights workers speaking out on the war. Great moral issues are indissoluble. In my case I've been preaching non-violence for years. Wouldn't it be inconsistent for me not to speak out against the war in Viet Nam?"

## EXCUSE FOR INACTION

But what of the fear expressed by other Negro leaders—that identifying the fight for equality in the U.S. with an anti-war stand will cost the civil rights movements important support?

"My view," Dr. King replies, "is that, as we started to move from the struggle against legal segregation into the infinitely more difficult area reaching toward genuine equality, many people who had once been with us started to hold back. These people will use any excuse for their inaction."

"T. S. Elliott wrote that 'the greater heresy is to do the right thing for the wrong reason.' Those who now say we're going too fast, or we shouldn't speak out against the war, never did support us out of any deep

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moral commitment to justice and equality, but perhaps out of some vague feelings of guilt.

"Now we're moving into an area where it'll cost the nation something. We can't solve the problems of the cities without spending billions. We were going to lose the summer soldiers, anyway."

What of critics who bridled at what appeared to be his placing of sole blame for the war on the U. S.? at what appeared to be his comparison of U.S. activity in Viet Nam with Nazi atrocities in Europe?

"We initiated the buildup of this war," Dr. King has previously replied to these criticisms, "and we must make the initiative to end the war. I'm not whitewashing Hanoi. I am a non-violence believer."

#### TESTING WEAPONS

He also softened his allusion to Nazi atrocities, but insisted we are testing new weapons. We are using napalm. Everybody knows that.

"But I'm not despairing, over the long run. There are many white people who cherish true democracy over personal privilege. Especially the students, the young people.

"Those who say in the civil rights movement that we have no right to speak out on Viet Nam are just foolish. There isn't any reason to merge the two movements, no plan to do that. But the civil rights worker has every right and duty to speak out. And I have always felt that it was the solemn duty of a clergyman to bring to

bear the insights of our Judeo-Christian philosophy. I'm surprised that so many people seem to find it remarkable.

"What concerns me so much about the war is that it shows how much we need a radical reordering... of our national values. If we don't restructure our thinking on the revolutions that are sweeping the third (uncommitted) world today, we will face many more Viet Nams. We will face them in Latin America. In Africa we may place American Negroes in the terrible position of being asked to fight against other black men. Our defense against communism can't be in guns and bombs. Our greater defense is in our power to remove poverty and disease from the face of the earth. I see our greater opportunity as the chance to lead the third world out of poverty and ignorance."

Although he had just made an impassioned speech to a rally of thousands Dr. King was poised and unruffled.

"I live out of a suitcase most of the time. Four hours sleep is enough for me. I hope I've solved the problem of personal danger. I live every day with the threat of death, and I came to see many years ago that I couldn't function if I allowed fear to overcome me.

"The main thing is not how long I live, but how well I have acquitted myself in the discharge of these truths that are high, noble and good."

*Scripps-Howard News*



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## A Parade LBJ Did Not Like

LYNDON JOHNSON, in one of those mistakes all men invariably make when things aren't going well, let it be known on Saturday that the FBI is keeping watch on peace demonstrations. Johnson's press secretary, George Christian, actually said the FBI was keeping an eye on "anti-war activity." Christian wouldn't say "anti-war activity" meant peace demonstrations. Apparently, the business of the government expressing itself is a word game out of the Reader's Digest. So the statement not only was disturbing, but the way in which it was released was an insulting ploy.

The peace demonstration in New York on Saturday was immense. The police, who said the crowd was 125,000, underestimate crowds for peace demonstrations and overestimate them for the Pope. Martin Luther King, who insisted there were something like 400,000, forgets he's a minister every now and then when he counts. Nobody really knows how many were in the parade. Crowd estimating procedures are so ridiculous that all figures issued are worthless. But we do know that the word *immense* can be used for Saturday's parade. And that the size of the parade and the people in it represented something.

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NOW YOU MIGHT be able to show that the organizers of the parade included quite a few people with shaky allegiances. The government also seems to feel Martin Luther King is linked to Communists. But to pin Saturday's crowd on the Communists is senseless. And King's presence meant almost nothing.

He was a flop in Chicago all last summer. He has not gone well in many other places either. On Saturday in New York, he was a meaningless speaker. But the people who marched in the parade were not meaningless. The Communists and pill-swallowers and lunatic organizations present couldn't have kept the march going for a half hour. The parade lasted for hours and it was comprised of young, orderly people. They mostly were representatives of an organization which has not appeared on the subversive list thus far. The organization is known to political writers and pollsters as Liberal Democrats. These were not Communists marching on Saturday, Mr. President, these were voters.

Generally, the same type of voters who in 1964 gave Lyndon Johnson the greatest plurality any candidate ever received in New York City. The last time I saw them in any numbers was when Jerry Finkelstein ran a Johnson campaign rally in Madison Square Garden and they filled the place.

So the most charitable thing which can be said about Johnson's statement on Saturday is that the statement was a mistake and it was indicative of the terrible frustrations a President must have running a war. Now use of the word "charitable" in the same sentence with the name Lyndon Johnson is not good newspaper form. The complaint against him here comes as a result of having looked at the parade closely for hours. And then reading a statement from the President which is invalid and insulting. But you almost hate to put the complaint down because of the way most things are written about Johnson.

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JOHNSON SEEMS TO BE RESENTED by many in print because he has no three-button suit style and he comes from Texas instead of the northeast and Harvard and, very important, his wealth is not inherited. Pick up anything printed these days and there is always something like the book co-authored by Charles Bartlett, a Washington columnist. He moans about Johnson's crudeness in contrast to the splendor of Pablo Casals at the White House. Casals is all very good, but he would bore hell out of me among many others. And if being a country guy, with country mannerisms, represents crudeness, then a good part of the country is crude. Johnson also happens to be a country man with a war on his hands. A war which just could be taking him apart inside even more than it anguishes peace demonstrators.

Maybe people could worry a little more about the problem he has instead of how he acts in a drawing room. But at the same time, Johnson might reevaluate the people protesting the war too.

For on the television yesterday afternoon, here was Dean Rusk, who probably wouldn't say hello unless Johnson told him to. And Rusk was saying, "... the Communist apparatus is very busy at this (anti-war activity) all over the world and in our own country. But I do not mean to say that all of those who have objections to the war in Viet Nam are Communists. But the world-wide Communist movement is working very hard at this."

This was diplomatic McCarthy. McCarthy could have saved his whole career with the soft delivery and "I do not mean to say" sentence structure that Rusk slipped us yesterday.

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THE OTHER POINT Rusk made is that he feels the net effect of peace demonstrations such as Saturdays is to prolong, not shorten the war. He explained that he feels Hanoi is not sophisticated enough to understand that the demonstrations are not a sign that we are ready to quit.

Here he took you into the subtleties and cloudiness of the war. The thought that he's right, and that a parade such as Saturday's could cost the lives of some of our kids someday, causes you to throw up. But at the same time, Viet Nam has had continual fighting since 1941. And our own fighting in there was well underway two years ago and Defense Secretary McNamara was finally admitting it was going to be a long war, a long time before peace demonstrators in any numbers got into the streets.

It is all very nice of Rusk to lay all the trouble onto the people legitimately disagreeing with the government.

All of this goes into the general, endless argument which never seems to provide an alternative or a workable answer to Viet Nam. The specific point about Saturday's demonstration was that it was immense and that it was comprised of the type of people who voted for Lyndon Johnson. You can disagree with the demonstrators. So can the administration, but Lyndon Johnson should have enough respect for the people who voted for him not to issue statements saying the FBI is watching them because they are part of a Communist plot.

# King Defends Linking Rights, Peace Drives

By AVA PIASTRO  
World Journal Tribune Staff

Dr. Martin Luther King today strongly defended his linking peace and the civil rights movement as one inseparable cause.

Despite the opposition his views evoked from many prominent civil rights leaders, the Nobel Peace Prize winner reaffirmed his position in a taped interview with Harlem radio station WLIB's news director, Leon Lewis. It is to be broadcast tonight.

King—whose strong opposition to the Viet Nam war in a policy speech here April 4 created a storm of controversy—said that "in any revolution there is never a unanimity of opinion."

He said in the interview that he could see no dangers in linking the two causes together, stating: "I think we have come to see that there is a mutual problem involved. Racism and militarism are very closely tied together."

Although earlier this week King's speech was called a "serious tactical mistake" by heads of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the noted clergyman vehemently defended his stand to Lewis.

## ISSUES TOGETHER

Dr. King said that he spoke not only as a civil rights leader but as a clergyman.

"The vast majority committed to peace are of necessity committed to civil rights because the two issues are inextricably bound together."

He further said that since he had been preaching non-violence in the racial struggle in the United States, "it would be very inconsistent of me to preach, teach and believe in non-violence in this struggle, then go applauding violence in a country where we are involved 8,000 miles from our shores."

King also characterized the Viet Nam war as "basically a war of colonialism."

Dr. King's posture as a civil rights leader was described as "diminished in influence" last night by Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich.

## MANY DISAGREE

Speaking at a dinner of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing at the Waldorf-Astoria, Hart said:

"I do not quarrel with Martin Luther King's decision to undertake a new campaign, even if I do not agree with his position. He is a thoughtful man, a conscientious man, and I am sure he made a balanced decision."

"But the fact remains that there are many in Congress and elsewhere who disagree with his stand on the second issue—Viet Nam."

"And in human relations, it is no secret that those who violently disagree with a man on one issue will listen with less sympathy to his arguments on other issues."

As criticism against King continued to mount, one prominent Negro physician who crusades for economic self-help programs called on King to either withdraw from the peace movement, or retire from the civil rights movement.

At a news conference yesterday Dr. Thomas Matthews, president of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction

Organization, said that King "no longer speaks for the Negro people."

Matthew went on to say that King was diverting attention from civil rights by his actions, and that he didn't think the majority of Negroes supported King's stand.

Another reaction to King's views was expressed in a front page editorial in this week's issue of the Amsterdam News, Harlem newspaper.

The editorial said that although King had a right to "make any observation and proposal as an individual, we do not think he should equate civil rights and the war at the same time."

It noted that Sen. Edward Brooke at one time had the same attitude as Dr. King regarding the conduct of the Viet Nam war but changed his views after a visit to the country and now supports President Johnson's administration.

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Date APR 14 1967

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# Are Rights, Viet Nam War Compatible? NAACP Cries 'No!' But SCLC Says 'Yes!'

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The "marriage" of the civil rights struggle to the Viet Nam war issue is spurned like the plague by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) but blessed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

ROY WILKINS, executive director of the NAACP,



Wilkins

declared — in taking issue with the combining of civil rights with the Viet Nam war — that: "Civil rights battles are going to have to be fought

and won on their own merits, irrespective of the state of war and peace in the world."

The board of directors of SCLC warned that it could not continue to tell Americans "to practice non-violence at home while our nation is practicing the very essence of violence abroad in this morally and politically unjust war."

**BRANDING THE Viet Nam conflict a "war against the poor,"** SCLC asserted:

"For Negroes, the first and most urgent fight is for absolute unqualified equality in a nation of peers."

"Watts, Harlem, Chicago clearly reveal that this frustration is spilling over into a dangerous bitterness that

threatens American Democracy from every side.

"THE PRESIDENT and the nation must not commit us to suicide by pretending not to see that the war against inequality, racism and poverty is the foremost need of the nation at the crossroads of history."

This is not the first difference of opinion between SCLC (headed by Dr. Martin Luther King) and Mr. Wilkins. When Stokely Carmichael's cry of "black power" quivered under the white power structure, Mr. Wilkins, hard put to keep the hysteria out of his voice, said he'd have no part of "black power," no matter how it is defined.

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5/21/67

## MUHAMMAD SPEAKS Page 6

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# BUNCHE DISPUTES DR. KING ON PEACE

Sees Error in Fusing Rights  
and Antiwar Campaigns—  
His View Is Challenged

By JOHN SIBLEY

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., April 12—Dr. Ralph J. Bunche asserted today that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. should not try to lead both a civil rights campaign and a crusade against American involvement in Vietnam.

"In my view, Dr. King should positively and publicly give up one role or the other," declared Dr. Bunche, the United Nations Under Secretary for Political Affairs. "The two efforts have too little in common."

Dr. Bunche said he was commenting not as an official of the U.N. but as a United States citizen. He is a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The N.A.A.C.P.'s 60-member board voted unanimously on Monday to oppose the effort to merge the civil rights and peace movements.

## Undelivered Speech

Dr. King, replying later to Dr. Bunche and the N.A.A.C.P., challenged them to "take a forthright stand on the rightness or wrongness" of the war. Speaking at a news conference in Los Angeles, Dr. King asserted that "no one can pretend that the existence of the war is not profoundly affecting the destiny of civil rights progress."

Dr. Bunche disclosed in an interview today that it was he who had moved to toughen the language of the N.A.A.C.P. resolution by denouncing the merger attempt as "a serious tactical mistake."

"I thought the statement that was originally proposed to the board was too defensive and too indirect," said Dr. Bunche. He added that Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union and another

N.A.A.C.P. director, had supported his proposal.

The phrase "serious tactical mistake" had occurred to him immediately, Dr. Bunche remarked, "because I had planned to use it in a speech I was supposed to make last Thursday at the University of Chicago."

In the Chicago speech, which was canceled, Dr. Bunche said he would have stated:

"It is not for me to offer advice to Dr. Martin Luther King. But as a citizen and as a Negro, I am entitled to comment upon the recent position and tactics of Dr. King, an acknowledged and distinguished leader in the civil rights movement, a skillful and courageous leader."

"Like us all, of course, he makes mistakes. Right now, I am convinced, he is making a very serious tactical error which will do much harm to the civil rights struggle. I refer to the merging in his recent speeches of the civil rights movement and the crusade against United States involvement in Vietnam."

Dr. Bunche stressed that he was not attacking Dr. King for the position he had taken on this country's role in Vietnam. His undelivered Chicago speech said of Dr. King:

"He is, after all, an active clergyman and naturally sensitive to moral issues and values. But he should realize that his anti-U.S. in Vietnam crusade is bound to alienate many friends and supporters of the civil rights movement and greatly weaken it—an ironic twist for a civil rights leader."

Dr. Bunche declined to say whether he agreed with Dr. King's assertion that Negro troops were in Vietnam "in disproportionate numbers" and were suffering more than their share of hardships, injuries and deaths there. Nor would Dr. Bunche discuss his own views on this country's role in Vietnam.

Dr. King, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Dr. Bunche received the same prize in 1950.

Dr. King is scheduled to play a leading part Saturday in an antiwar demonstration outside United Nations headquarters. The demonstrators are to march from Central Park and conduct a rally here.

A similar protest is scheduled for the same day in San Francisco. Both are sponsored by the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, an amalgam of peace groups.

Dr. Bunche was asked for comment on the rally, which will take place outside the window of his 38th-floor office. He replied: "Dr. King is fully entitled to take such action."



United Nations  
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

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Date APR 13 1967

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“Dad! Where were you when  
the United States was  
killing the Vietnamese?”

“On April 15, 1967, your mother  
and you and I, along with  
thousands of other American  
fo

... American  
families, met in New York  
and San Francisco to demand  
that the government stop the  
war in Vietnam immediately.



*Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours.*

*—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

## NEW YORK

**SPEAKERS** Rev. James Bevel; Stokely Carmichael; Linda Dannenberg, Student Mobilization Committee; Nick Egleson, SDS; Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Floyd McKissick; William F. Pepper, National Conference for New Politics; Cleveland Robinson, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers Union, District 65, AFL-CIO; Pedro Juan Rua, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Prof. Howard Zinn; Rally co-chairmen: Dave Dellinger, Liberation magazine; Dr. Benjamin Spock. Singers: Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, the Freedom Singers.

**ASSEMBLE** 11 AM Central Park Sheep Meadow (66th Street).

**MARCH** at noon through midtown to the U.N.  
RAIN OR SHINE

**RALLY** at the U.N. at 3 PM.

**SPONSORS** (partial list) Harry Belafonte; Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.; Dorothy Day; Dr. Morton Deutsch; James Farmer; Jules Feiffer; W. H. Ferry; Prof. D. F. Fleming; Rabbi Everett Gendler; Allen Ginsberg; Paul Goodman; Charles Hayes; Nat Hentoff; Hal Holbrook; Paul Krassner; John Lewis; Prof. Staughton Lynd; Dwight MacDonald; Norman Mailer; Stewart Meacham;

## SAN FRANCISCO

**SPEAKERS** Julian Bond; Eldridge Cleaver, Organization of Afro-American Unity; Kipp Dawson, Spring Mobilization Committee; Morris Evenson, Painters Local 4, AFL-CIO; Rabbi Abraham Feinberg; David Harris, student leader, Stanford University; Gerald Hill, California Democratic Council; Rev. Andrew Juvenal; Mrs. Coretta (Martin Luther) King; Grace Mora Newman, sister of Dennis Mora, one of Fort Hood Three GI's who refused to fight in Vietnam; Robert Scheer, Ramparts magazine; Paul Schrade, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO; Elijah Turner, Oakland black community; Robert Vaughn, "Man from U.N.C.L.E." Rally chairman: Edward Keating, Ramparts magazine. Singers: Judy Collins, Malvina Reynolds.

**ASSEMBLE** 10 AM Second and Market Streets

**MARCH** to Kezar Stadium via Market Street. RAIN OR SHINE

**RALLY** 1 PM Kezar Stadium

Rev. Howard Melish; Carl Oglesby; Dr. Linus Pauling; Tony Randall; Prof. Franz Schurmann; Prof. Harlow Shapley; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Susan Sontag; Rev. John Swomley, Jr.; Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi; Louis Untermeyer; Fritz Weaver.

## SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

James Bevel, National Director

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## NAACP Restores Perspective

In sharp contrast to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the 60-member board of directors of the NAACP pointedly declined to link the battle for equal rights with opposing the war in Vietnam.

Attempts to fuse the movements, the directors said in an unanimous resolution, "will serve the cause neither of civil rights nor of peace."

Thus the nation's most prestigious civil rights organization does much to restore perspective to the situation and remove some of the suspicions about the rights movement that Dr. King's ill-advised remarks had engendered.

The NAACP was no more pro-war than it was anti-war. What it said was that "civil rights battles will have to be fought and won on their own merits, irrespective of the state of war or peace in the world," and that it is

a "serious tactical mistake" to link the rights and peace movements.

"We are, of course, for a just peace. But there already exist dedicated organizations whose No. 1 task is to work for peace, just as our No. 1 job is to work for civil rights," the NAACP resolution declared.

This nation is capable of conducting simultaneously a battle for the rights of all its own citizens and a war to block seizure of South Vietnam through military means. To argue that the two goals are incompatible is to help make the division true. Dr. King unquestionably weakens sympathy for civil rights by alienating supporters of our cause in Vietnam, but it is doubtful that he won a single new convert as a result.

We are certain that the NAACP more accurately reflects the sentiment of American Negroes, including those who are fighting so valiantly in Vietnam.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4  
The Atlanta  
Constitution  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 4-12-67

Edition:

Author: Editorial

Editor: Eugene Patterson

Title: MARTIN LUTHER

KING, JR

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Classification:

Submitting Office: **Atlanta**

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 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Civil Rights And Vietnam

It ought not be necessary to commend the exercise of common sense, but such is the mood of the country that it certainly can do no harm.

In this instance, the praiseworthy action is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's rejection of the campaign—recently served most publicly by Martin Luther King Jr.—to spice the civil

rights movement with anti-Vietnam war agitation.

In plain words, the NAACP's directors warned that such a distorted merger of totally separate and separable causes will serve neither civil rights nor peace.

The ill-advised efforts to King and others who seek to make anti-Vietnam policy sentiment a test of civil rights backing are certain to cost Negroes the support of many people who sympathize with their efforts to obtain full citizenship but who believe that the significance and necessity of the U. S. commitment in Vietnam ought to be obvious to Americans of all races.

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 14 THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS  
 BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD  
 BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Date: 4-12-67  
 Edition: METRO  
 Author: EDITORIAL  
 Editor: JOHN W. BLOOM  
 Title: NAACP

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# Question of Courage

By William Buckley Jr.



HERE is a test.

"The Federal Government's policies are directed by pro-communists."

That statement is (check one):

- A. One with which I disagree.
- B. Irresponsible.
- C. Sick-stupid.

"The Federal Government's policies are directed by Nazi-types."

That statement is (check one):

- A. One with which I disagree.
- B. Irresponsible.
- C. Sick-stupid.

Now: If you checked two C's you are, in the humble judgment of myself and the universe, well oriented, stable, well-reasoning. If you checked respectively A and C, you have ants in your pants on the subject of communists in control of the government, and you might just possibly be taken in by Birchbail. If you checked respectively C and A, your reflexes against pro-communist-type rhetoric and analysis are decidedly low, and you are the left counterpart of the lady with the tennis shoes.

The latest lady with tennis shoes is Jackie Robinson, whose incredible response when asked to comment on the incredible speech by Dr. Martin Luther King in which among other things he compared American military methods to those of Nazis testing "new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe" was: "I don't agree with (Dr. King) on this issue."

DR. KING gave a speech which could have been written in, indeed it was for all intents and purposes written in, Hanoi. He denounced his country as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today"; uttered not a word of criticism against the government; and called for, in effect, a national strike against the war.

All of this, in one of the greatest acts of intellectual confusion in recent history, he excused on civil rights grounds. His point being that the war has got in the way of the war for the emancipation of the Negro (which as a matter of fact is not true). It may have got in the way of Dr. King's position on the front pages of the nation's newspapers, and this — and this alone — Dr. King has, at least temporarily, remedied.

The sharpest rejoinder (so far) has been by the Jewish War Veterans of America, whose National Commander Malcolm Tarlov quite rightly resenting the American-Nazi parallel commented "... we consider (Dr. King's) extremist tirade to reveal an ignorance of the facts, pandering to Ho Chi Minh and an insult to the intelligence of all Americans."

THE great body of Americans will be quietly disgusted and, in their minds, they will tune out Dr. King, linking him where he now belongs alongside the demagogic irresponsibles like Floyd McKissick ("Dr. King has come around and I'm glad to have him with us, no question about that") and Stokely Carmichael.

Considering his vast prestige, he will unquestionably damage the civil rights movement with which he is so closely identified, and one would therefore think that those who have devoted their lives to that movement would speak out with special agony.

It is a question of courage, not intelligence; and it takes a lot of courage for a Negro leader to speak out against another Negro leader. Now whether they will show more courage than they did a few months ago concerning Adam Clayton Powell Jr. whether they will show something of the courage that Negro soldiers are showing every day in Vietnam.

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# A Role for King In Protest Politics

By Marquis Childs

United Features Syndicate

AS MAN and as symbol Martin Luther King Jr. is the center of a power struggle extending far beyond the deep divisions in the civil rights movement. At stake is no less than the shape of the anti-Vietnam protest movement—riot and blood in the streets or orderly dissent.

The decision King finally makes can shift the balance in the presidential politics of 1968. The intense debate that went on not long ago throws a revealing light on how much turns on the outcome of this struggle.

At the end of the debate King announced that he would not be a peace candidate for President next year as had been widely reported. It was a momentary victory for the moderates in the civil rights movement, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Roy Wilkins and others opposing the all out defiance of the black power leaders.

If you run on a third-party peace ticket you will elect Richard Nixon President of the United States, Rauh told King. That will be the end result of your crusade for equal justice for the Negro. This was, needless to say, a sobering thought.

No one close to the debate believes, however, that King's decision was final. He is under strong continuing pressure to head a third-party ticket on a peace platform with Dr. Benjamin Spock as the vice presidential candidate. Black power leaders Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and their followers tell him at every opportunity that it is his duty to give the American people a choice and not an echo.

THIS IS heady wine. Adulators insist that he and he alone can show the way to peace in Vietnam. At the very least, they argue, he can bring about the defeat of Lyndon Johnson for a second full term.

The last is the logic of the position of Rauh and the moderates. If the Republicans see that King means to head a leftist peace ticket they will be convinced they can win with Nixon who is the candidate of the hard-core pros in the Party. And in a climate heated by fierce dissension, as the war continues to escalate, King would in all probability take enough votes in the big-city states to put the Johnson ticket in grave jeopardy. The stakes are much bigger than in the 1948 election. In 1948 running on a left-wing, anti-cold-war ticket.

In the complex struggle is an element often discussed in private but never mentioned in public. This is a rumored FBI report on King's private life derived from an electronic device placed in a hotel room. The FBI has denied the existence of any such report. Asked several times by reporters, King says he has never heard of it.

In December, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI chief, denounced King as "the most notorious liar in the country." Shortly afterward King called at FBI headquarters to meet Hoover. He had little to say when he came out and the report circulated that he had been confronted with the hotel-room recording. King denied that anything like this had happened.

Yet, like an uneasy ghost, the report will not die. On the day that King and Spock were to lead the massive anti-war demonstration in New York last month, the President let it be known at his Texas ranch that he was reading an FBI report on "anti-war activity." Among King's friends and followers were those convinced this was aimed at the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In recent weeks King has been following a moderate line. At Louisville a demonstration promising to disrupt the Kentucky Derby was called off after one of King's followers announced that an "urgent telephone call" necessitated canceling the planned march. Although it was denied that the call was threatening, again the rumor of pressure from Washington circulated.

KING himself says there were two good reasons for stopping the demonstration. One was the danger of a riot and the other was that the demonstrators would have been accused of disruption just for the sake of disruption and the cause of open housing in Louisville would have suffered. In an ad in the New York Times on Sunday, King joined with moderates calling for "a national citizens' signature campaign for new initiatives to end the war in Vietnam." The signers covered a broad range of religious and civic leaders.

That the Buddha-like figure of this once-obscure Negro minister with the voice that is a curious monotone should be cast up in the crucible of the civil rights movement to a balance of power role is a strange vagary of a strange time. Whichever road he takes the history books will have a lot to say about Martin Luther King.

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Date **5/12/67**

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MAY 16 1967



# Around The Nation NAACP Decries Mixing Rights, Vietnam

NEW YORK—The board of directors of the NAACP said yesterday that any move to merge the civil rights movement with the Vietnam war protests would be "a serious tactical mistake."

The statement by the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, was an obvious rebuff to the Rev. Martin Luther King. However, no specific mention was made by the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

King made a plea last week for a merger of the civil rights movement and the peace movement. King denounced U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The 60-member NAACP board's resolution, adopted at its quarterly meeting, said "We are, of course, for a just peace, but there already exist dedicated organizations whose number one task is to work for peace, just as our number one task is to work for civil rights."

"To attempt to merge the civil rights movement with the peace movement is to assume that one is dependent upon the other (and that) is, in our judgment, a serious tactical mistake."

The NAACP action followed a similar statement made last week by Whitney Young, director of the National Urban League.

## Petition Denied

NEW ORLEANS — The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals refused to recall or delay its total school integration order for six Southern states.

It issued a brief notice, without comment, that the motions by Louisiana and Alabama were denied.

Jack Gremillion, attorney general of Louisiana, said the ruling would be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

*Handwritten notes:*  
C. B. [unclear]  
Alabama

The Washington Post Times Herald Ab  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date APR 11 1967

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176 APR 25 1967

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RECEIVED 4-11-67  
 The Washington Post & Times Herald

UPI-160

(NAACP)

NEW YORK--THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NAACP SAID MONDAY ANY ATTEMPT TO MERGE THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENTS WAS A "SERIOUS TACTICAL MISTAKE."

THE 60-MEMBER BOARD ADOPTED A RESOLUTION AT ITS QUARTERLY MEETING SAYING "WE ARE, OF COURSE, FOR A JUST PEACE, BUT THERE ALREADY EXISTS DEDICATED ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE NUMBER ONE TASK IS TO WORK FOR PEACE, JUST AS OUR NUMBER ONE JOB TO TO WORK FOR CIVIL RIGHTS."

"TO ATTEMPT TO MERGE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT WITH THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS TO ASSUME THAT ONE IS DEPENDENT UPON THE OTHER (AND THAT) IS, IN OUR JUDGMENT, A SERIOUS TACTICAL MISTAKE."

TWO OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE HEADED BY BLACK POWER ADVOCATE STOKELY CARMICHAEL HAVE RECENTLY ISSUED STATEMENTS OPPOSING THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

THE RESOLUTION WAS THE FIRST STATEMENT ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM BY THE NAACP, THE NATION'S OLDEST AND LARGEST CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION.

IT FOLLOWED A STATEMENT LAST WEEK BY WHITNEY YOUNG, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, SAYING THE TWO MOVEMENTS HAD DIFFERENT GOALS AND SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE MERGED.

THE NAACP STATEMENT SAID THE BOARD "KNOWS THAT CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLES WILL HAVE TO BE FOUGHT ON THEIR OWN MERITS, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE STATE OF WAR OR PEACE IN THE WORLD."

"FOR NEARLY 60 YEARS, UNDER NINE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS, IN PERIODS OF DEPRESSION AND OF PROSPERITY, THROUGH TWO WORLD WARS, THE KOREAN WAR AND NOW INTO THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THE NAACP HAS CONSISTENTLY AND UNCOMPROMISINGLY STUCK TO THE JOB FOR WHICH IT WAS ORGANIZED."

"WE ARE NOT A PEACE ORGANIZATION, NOR A FOREIGN POLICY ORGANIZATION, WE ARE A CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION," THE STATEMENT SAID.

ITS SAID THE NAACP REMAINED "COMMITTED TO ITS PRIMARY GOAL OF ELIMINATING ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ACHIEVING CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS."

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# KING'S THREAT RECALLS LIMIT SET BY COURT

## 1966 Injunction Still in Effect

The threat by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Chicago Freedom movement to stage "more massive" demonstrations here this summer has recalled the court's limitation on marching last year.

Still in effect is a temporary injunction issued last August by Judge Cornelius J. Harrington in Chancery court. It drastically restricts such demonstrations in the city, and Mayor Daley has served notice that police will enforce its provisions.

### Jailed Three Months

One civil rights leader, Frank Ditto, served three months of a six-month jail sentence for deliberately defying the injunction. The Illinois Appellate court ordered his release in appeal bond. The appeal is pending.

Demonstrations "more massive" than a number staged in Chicago last summer obviously would be impossible within provisions of the injunction. At times last year the Illinois national guard was called out to police demonstrations and to restore order.

The temporary injunction prohibits eight individuals, their associates, and three organizations from staging more than one "march, assembly, gathering, or meeting" a day on public property within the city, and limits participants to 500.

It limits such demonstrations to daylight hours, and prohibits them during rush hour periods of 7:30 to 9 a. m. and 4:30 to 6 p. m. It requires that 24-hour advance notice of such

demonstrations, giving time and route, be given in writing to Police Supt. O. W. Wilson.

The injunction was directed against Dr. King and his top aids in the Southern Christian Leadership conference; Al Raby, convenor, and others of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations; and Frank Ditto and others of the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement.

Daley has indicated the city administration will act more aggressively this year than last to curtail civil rights disorders. He said recently, "There will be no demonstrations that close off traffic and interfere with the people's rights."

### Promises "Severe" Measures

Sheriff Joseph I. Woods has pledged to take "severe" measures in response to civil rights disorders or riots. He said, "If they shoot, I'll shoot."

Some who supported civil rights demonstrations and marches last year oppose their resumption during the coming summer. Among these is Robert Johnston, director of region 4, United Auto Workers union. He said he does not think "we can solve the problem with further demonstrations," and urged that Dr. King instead join him and others in seeking state open occupancy legislation.

The demonstrations are "needed," Dr. King has contended, because city agencies "have been inert upholding their commitments" under the open housing agreement reached at the so-called summit meeting of city and suburban leaders last August.

### Names Three Agencies

Specifically, he charged that the Chicago housing authority, city department of urban renewal, and the Chicago Commission on Human Relations had "renege on the agreement."

Spokesmen for the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, the organization set up after the summit meeting as the agency to direct the drive for open housing, have taken sharp issue with Dr. King's view.

The council president, James W. Cook, president of Illinois Bell Telephone company, rose to the defense of the three agencies, saying they have done what they could.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Wick  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Mr. Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

22

CHICAGO SUNDAY  
TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOI

4-9-67

Date:

Edition: 4 STAR FINAL

Author:

Editor: W.D. MAXWELL

Title:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: 100-35356

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

[ ] Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

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176 APR 26 1967

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 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

## Dr. King's Error 3A

In recent speeches and statements the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has linked his personal opposition to the war in Vietnam with the cause of Negro equality in the United States. The war, he argues, should be stopped not only because it is a futile war waged for the wrong ends but also because it is a barrier to social progress in this country and therefore prevents Negroes from achieving their just place in American life.

This is a fusing of two public problems that are distinct and separate. By drawing them together, Dr. King has done a disservice to both. The moral issues in Vietnam are less clear-cut than he suggests; the political strategy of uniting the peace movement and the civil rights movement could very well be disastrous for both causes.

Because American Negroes are a minority and have to overcome unique handicaps of racial antipathy and prolonged deprivation, they have a hard time in gaining their objectives even when their grievances are self-evident and their claims are indisputably just. As Dr. King knows from the Montgomery bus boycott and other civil rights struggles of the past dozen years, it takes almost infinite patience, persistence and courage to achieve the relatively simple aims that ought to be theirs by right.

The movement toward racial equality is now in the more advanced and more difficult stage of fulfilling basic rights by finding more jobs, changing patterns of housing and upgrading education. The battlegrounds in this struggle are Chicago and Harlem and Watts. The Negroes on these fronts need all the leadership, dedication and moral inspiration that they can summon; and under these circumstances to divert the energies of the civil rights movement to the Vietnam issue is both wasteful and self-defeating.

Dr. King makes too facile a connection between the speeding up of the war in Vietnam and the slowing down of the war against poverty. The eradication of poverty is at best the task of a generation. This "war" inevitably meets diverse resistance such as the hostility of local political machines, the skepticism of conservatives in Congress and the intractability of slum mores and habits. The nation could afford to make more funds available to combat poverty even while the war in Vietnam continues, but there is no certainly that the coming of peace would automatically lead to a sharp increase in funds.

The Washington Post  
 Times Herald  
 The Washington Daily News  
 The Evening Star (Washington)  
 The Sunday Star (Washington)  
 Daily News (New York)  
 Sunday News (New York)  
 New York Post  
 The New York Times  
 World Journal Tribune  
 (New York)  
 The Sun (Baltimore)  
 The Worker  
 The New Leader  
 The Wall Street Journal  
 The National Observer  
 People's World  
 Date APR 7 1967

56 APR 17 1967

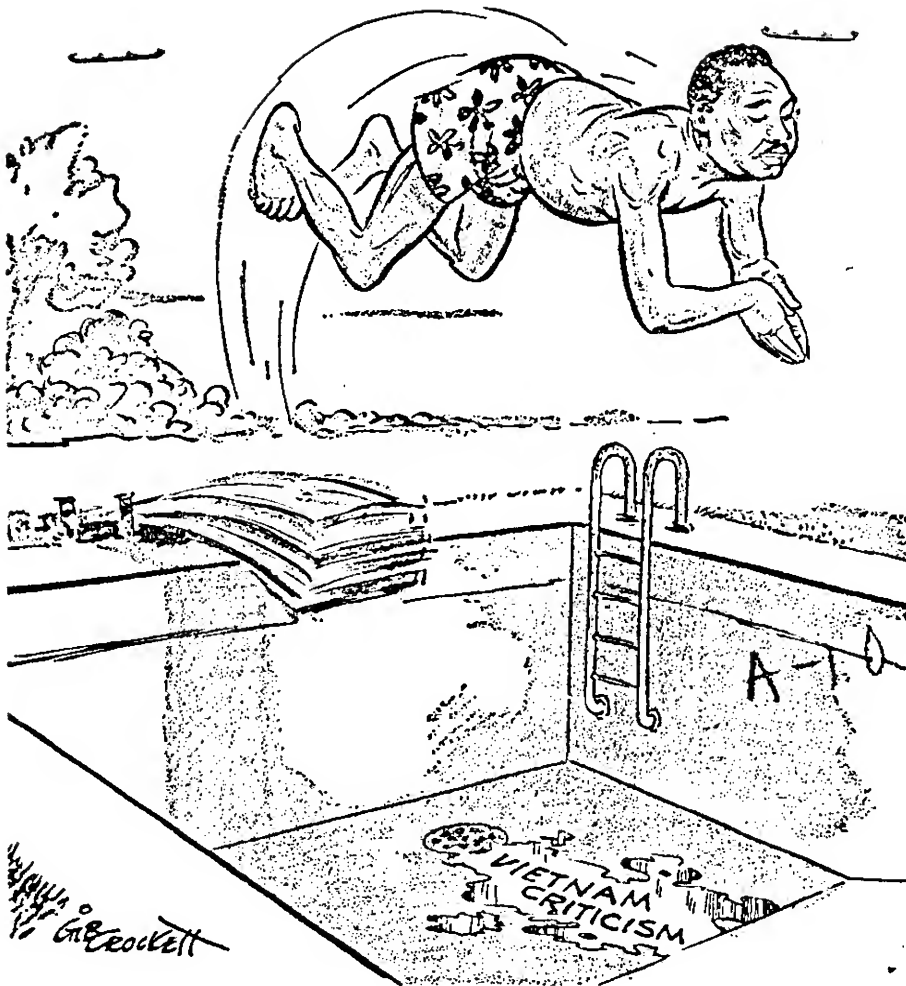
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Furthermore, Dr. King can only antagonize opinion in this country instead of winning recruits to the peace movement by recklessly comparing American military methods to those of the Nazis testing "new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." The facts are harsh, but they do not justify such slander. Furthermore, it is possible to disagree with many aspects of United States policy in Vietnam without whitewashing Hanoi.

As an individual, Dr. King has the right and even the moral obligation to explore the ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, but as one of the most respected leaders of the civil rights movement he has an equally weighty obligation to direct that movement's efforts in the most constructive and relevant way.

There are no simple or easy answers to the war in Vietnam or to racial injustice in this country. Linking these hard, complex problems will lead not to solutions but to deeper confusion.

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 Trotter ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Holmes ☐  
 Gandy ☐



Dr. King takes the plunge.

Martin Luther King Jr.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date APR 7 1967

56 APR 17 1967

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175 APR 17 1967

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**Eugene Patterson**

## MLK: Where The Action Is?

WASHINGTON — The liberal Washington Post said Thursday that many who have listened to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. with respect in the past "will never again accord him the same confidence. He has diminished his usefulness to his cause, to his country and to his people. And that is a great tragedy." The Atlanta Negro leader deliberately dumped a hod of bricks on his own head when he narrowed his base in the civil rights movement to the confines of the Vietnam "peace movement."

But the civil rights movement as it was practiced non-violently under Dr. King was in trouble anyway. His demonstrations had won their big battles. The antipoverty program he advocated had been hiring the old militant leaders and moving them off the streets and into offices where they were invited to perform instead of protest.

A fringe of "black power" advocates stole the stage. For all their admirable goals of instilling pride of race in the Negro, their technique was a dangerous reverse demagoguery and a ready resort to violence.

The riots that ensued were disastrous for the civil rights movement. After each outburst of lawlessness and vandalism, white support dwindled, anti-Negro enmities hardened, and civil rights leaders struggled to minimize the damage with cooling-off periods that broke the momentum of the movement.

Then as the black power racists began expelling whites, who used to make up a big contingent of the nonviolent demonstrations, the war in Vietnam gave these white youngsters somewhere else to go.

The same university campuses that supplied manpower and money for the civil rights movement are preoccupied almost exclusively now with the peace-in-Vietnam protests. That's where the action is, all of a sudden, for the white kids who have been told by Stokely Carmichael that the Negro doesn't need them any more.

Dr. King must have watched this breaking up of a rational civil rights movement with deep dismay.

Without questioning his obviously deep-felt convictions about Vietnam, one can see that he is now in position to salvage at least some of the dissipated following of the civil rights movement, assuming a drastically narrow base is better than no base at all.

Yet there is disappointment among many who had hoped Dr. King would somehow overcome the obstacles and revitalize a responsible movement within the civil rights arena itself, and not follow the black power hotheads into the emotional tangle of foreign policy. This he failed to do. It is probably right to call it a tragedy. It now seems likely that the less spectacular but harder working old organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League will have to take up the burden of new responsibilities if the civil rights cause is to have continuity hereafter.

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. DeLoach.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Wick.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Sullivan.....  
Mr. Tavel.....  
Mr. Trotter.....  
Tele. Room.....  
Miss Holmes.....  
Miss Gandy.....

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4  
The Atlanta  
Constitution  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 4-7-67  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Eugene Patter  
Editor: Eugene Patter  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C

Classification:

NOT RECORDED Submitting Office: ATLANTA

176 APR 17 1967

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## Urban League Head Hits King's Stand on War <sup>AIO</sup>

NEW YORK, April 5 (UPI)—Whitney M. Young Jr., head of the National Urban League, took exception today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s stand on Vietnam and said he himself "strongly believed" that issues of peace and civil rights should remain separate.

Dr. King called Tuesday for a fusion of the two movements and stepped-up demonstrations against the war in the Far East.

Young said in a statement that the immediate problem

of survival in this country should take first priority with the masses of Negro citizens. The "limited resources" and personnel available to civil rights agencies for work in their behalf should not be diverted into other channels, he said.

The Washington Post Times Herald <sup>AIO</sup>

The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

## A Tongue Gone Astray 34

AMERICA, "a society gone mad on war."

America, "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

America "destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over."

America is "victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long."

American troops in South Vietnam herd peasants "off the land of their fathers into concentration camps."

American troops "poison their water" and "kill a million acres of their crops." American troops "may have killed a million of them — mostly children." Thousands of children are "homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets

like animals," "selling their sisters" to American soldiers, "soliciting for their mothers."

American troops test their latest weapons on the Vietnamese "just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe."

The rabid fulminations of the Viet Cong radio or the government of North Vietnam? Not at all. They are phrases from a speech by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in New York on April 4.

The Vietnamese communists have never gone as far.

Louis Armstrong, the musician, was quoted recently as saying, "I never let my tongue say what my head can't stand."

It seems as tho Rev. King's tongue got carried away.

The Washington Post  
 Times Herald  
 The Washington Daily News  
 The Evening Star (Washington)  
 The Sunday Star (Washington)  
 Daily News (New York)  
 Sunday News (New York)  
 New York Post  
 The New York Times  
 World Journal Tribune  
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 The Wall Street Journal  
 The National Observer  
 People's World  
 Date APR 6 1967

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UPI-95

(VIET OBJECTORS)

WASHINGTON--SEN. STROM THURMOND, R-S.C., CHARGED TODAY THAT NEGRO LEADER MARTIN LUTHER KING "IS OPENLY ESPOUSING COMMUNIST AIMS AND GOALS FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION" AND "HAS LINKED THE SO-CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE TO THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION."

HE TOLD THE SENATE THAT KING'S VIEWS AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS ARE "IN CLEAR CONTRAST TO THE CLEAR AND FORCEFUL POSITION OF MY CAPABLE REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUE," SEN. EDWARD W. BROOKE, R-MASS., WHO RETURNED FROM VIETNAM RECENTLY AND ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS SHIFTING HIS VIEWS AND NOW SUPPORTED U.S. POLICIES THERE.

THURMOND SAID THAT EVEN THOUGH BROOKE "IS A NEGRO, HE HAS SPURNED ALL INDUCEMENTS TO MAKE RACE AN ISSUE IN HIS POLICIES." ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID, "I WAS SHOCKED BY THE EXTREMIST TONE AND IRRESPONSIBLE CHARACTER" OF KING'S REMARKS "AS REPORTED FROM NEW YORK."

THE SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR SAID "IN REGARD TO THE VIETNAM WAR, (BROOKE) HAS HAD A SPECIAL TEMPTATION TO SUCCUMB TO THE PRESSURE OF THOSE WHO WOULD LINK THE DEFENSE OF THIS NATION WITH THE SO-CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT." HOWEVER, THURMOND SAID, BROOKE "HAD THE COURAGE TO CHANGE HIS MIND WHEN THE REALITY OF THE WAR WAS FULLY PRESENTED TO HIM ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO VIETNAM."

BY CONTRAST, THE SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR DECLARED, "KING DEMEANES HIS RACE AND RETARDS THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIS PEOPLE." THURMOND SAID KING, BY HIS STATEMENTS, "CREATES RESENTMENT AND COUNTER-RESENTMENT. IN SO DOING, HE ASSISTS COMMUNIST PURPOSES."

THURMOND SAID KING'S DEMANDS ARE "ALMOST IDENTICAL IN CONCEPT TO THE CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN HANOI AS A PRE-REQUISITE TO NEGOTIATIONS."

HE CHARGED THAT KING "HAS PLACED HIMSELF ON THE WRONG SIDE. IF HE IS GOING TO CONTINUE TO LIVE IN AMERICA, I HOPE HE WILL COME ON OVER TO AMERICA'S SIDE."

BROOKE, THE SENATE'S ONLY NEGRO MEMBER, WAS NOT ON THE FLOOR WHEN THURMOND SPOKE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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## No Nobel for This Logic

Nonviolence achieved great victories in civil rights. Can it be equally potent as a weapon for peace?

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. believes so, and therein he shows a lamentable ignorance of the movement he symbolizes.

Nonviolence was not the sole ingredient of civil rights victories. It was more a catalyst. Through their willingness to suffer injury, death and prison, practitioners of nonviolence dramatized the plight of the segregated Negro in a manner the rest of the nation could not ignore.

And once America's attention was focused on the practices of discrimination, the overwhelming majority supported laws for racial justice. It was the public opinion victory and not nonviolence itself which won civil rights gains.

Now Dr. King simplistically wishes to apply nonviolence to our dealings with an armed and murderous enemy. He will discover that his call will fail because it will not, as in the case of racial justice, convince the American public.

Saddest of all in Dr. King's stance is his underlying assumption that the Viet Cong position is noble and ours corrupt. He quotes the late President Kennedy's admonition that "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." One wonders what makes the years of Cong murder, kidnaping, mutilation and bombing a "peaceful revolution." He finds the United States on the "side of the wealthy and the secure." One wonders if he has read nothing of combined American-South Vietnamese effort to establish schools, health centers, improved agriculture, a stabilized economy, and constitutional government in South Vietnam.

If the American government in the area of civil rights had heeded the disengagement Dr. King now urges in international affairs, mobs and uniformed bullies would have won the day in Little Rock, New Orleans, Selma, Oxford, Birmingham and countless other battlegrounds.

To equate ghetto rioting with American defense of South Vietnam against armed takeover, as Dr. King has, is as saddening as it is illogical.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4  
The Atlanta  
Constitution  
Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 4-6-67  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Editorial  
Editor: Eugene Patterson  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Atlanta

☒ Being Investigated

BUfile 100-106670

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APR 26 1967

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15

# Dr. King Urges Protests, Steps for Viet Pullout

**NEW YORK (AP)**—Civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has unfolded a major new program of teach-ins, preach-ins and mass demonstrations in an effort to gain from the government an admission "that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam."

The winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize yesterday pictured the United States as so dedicated to its worldwide money and material investments that it has become "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" and is on the wrong side of a world revolution for human rights.

"Now they languish under our bombs," he said of the South Vietnamese, "and consider us — not their fellow Vietnamese — the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. So far we

may have killed a million of them, mostly children."

Dr. King's first recommendation, delivered at a news conference is for "those who are prepared to do it, who see the great dangers ahead for mankind," to become conscientious objectors.

In the evening, before more than 3,000 persons in the Riverside Church, he called for clergymen to give up their draft-exemption as clergy and become conscientious objectors.

He also suggested a five-point program designed to "begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict":

1. End all bombing in Vietnam.
2. Declare a unilateral cease-fire "in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation."
3. Curtail U.S. military build-ups in Thailand and Laos.
4. Accept a role for the National Liberation Front — Viet Cong — in negotiations and in any future government, because it "has substantial support in South Vietnam."
5. Set a date for removing all foreign troops in accord with the 1954 Geneva agreement.

In his hour-long address, sponsored by the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, Dr. King said the civil rights and peace programs are inextricably linked. He said the war on poverty, a "shining moment" of a few years ago, had been "broken and eviscerated" by the war buildup.

He got standing ovations at the beginning and at the end of his talk.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

C.D.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
World Journal Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
(New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

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-Associated Press

**DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING**  
"Great dangers ahead for mankind . . ."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**Dr. King Wanders**

THE REV. Martin Luther King Jr. has come to be the world symbol of the cause of civil rights.

This is a legitimate cause and as long as the proper means are used to bring about its ends, its leaders are on sound ground. It also is a full time vocation.

Dr. King, however, has gone back to wandering in a distant field, that of international relations. Once again he has been sharply critical of this country's methods and means of combating communism in other parts of the world.

Dr. King thus links the cause of civil rights with those who oppose our involvement in Vietnam and our various forays against inroads of the left in Latin America.

This is a tactical mistake.

It gives plenty of material to those in our country who are trying to equate the cause of civil rights with Moscow and Peking. Dr. King has pleased his enemies here.

Nor has he improved his own position. He's riding two horses, not necessarily on parallel courses.

As the symbol of the civil rights movement, Dr. King was doing fine.

Now he's quit preaching and gone to meddling, as the saying goes, and civil rights may be the loser as a result.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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